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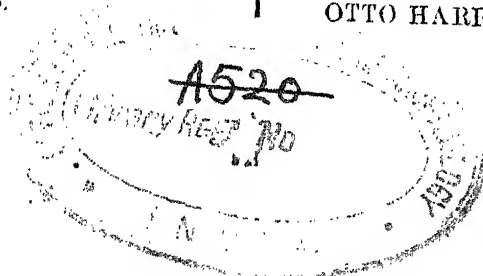
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THE SIAM SOCIETY.

(**Founded 1904**)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in relation to Siam and neighbouring countries.

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NOTE.

The six papers now published in this number of the Siam Society Journal treat of the Burmese version of the intercourse, mostly warlike, between Siam and Burma. They are free translations made from the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi, a history of Burma in Burmese compiled in the year 1191 Burmese era (A. D. 1829).

It was at the suggestion and request of Mr. F. H. Giles that the translation was undertaken, and he has very kindly lent his advice throughout as to the form in which it is to be done. At the same time His Royal Highness Prince Damrong has shown great interest in the translation and has been pleased to encourage the work from the first start. His Royal Highness has made arrangements to have what is here presented in English translated into Siamese direct from the Burmese original.

The sixth paper takes the narrative to the end of the second volume of Hmannan Yazawin now in print. The National Library has applied to Professor Chas. Duroiselle of the Bernard Free Library Rangoon for copies of the Hmannan History in continuation of the second volume, and he has kindly consented to have them prepared. When these manuscripts arrive the translation will be resumed so as to bring the account of Siam's relations with Burma, as given in the Hmannan Yazawin, down to the time of Alaungpra, the founder of the last Burmese dynasty. From the time of Alaungpra onwards, the translation will be made from a new history of Burma called Kônbaungzet Yazawindawgyi which treats of Alaungpra's dynasty, ending with the conquest and annexation of Upper Burma by the British.

In transliterating Burmese names into English, the method in use officially in Burma has, with few exceptions, been adhered to. The method is very different from those found current in Siam, and though it cannot possibly claim to be perfect, it has this to be said in its favour, that it is fairly consistent. The exceptions are generally Siamese names written in Burmese. For instance

“thane” in such words as “Zinthane” and “Thane-Lôn” is to be pronounced like the English word “thane” and not as “tha-nay” which would be its pronunciation according to the method referred to. There is a Siamese title in Burmese characters which if transliterated according to the method employed in Burma would be “Aw-ya”; but instead of following the Burma transliteration the form “Oya” is used, simply for the reason that it is already found in some of the published translations of incidents of Siamese history derived from foreign sources. The “ra” of the Burmese has been given the “ra” sound instead of the “ya” which is the modern pronunciation.

The names of English calendar months given in the foot notes as equivalents of Burmese lunar months should be taken as corresponding approximately only.

The identification of persons and places is a matter of great difficulty at present, and it is therefore deemed advisable not to venture on a subject where a great deal of doubt and difference of opinion are sure to exist.

Mr. B. O. Cartwright has been kind enough to look over the proofs and make corrections where necessary. The translator takes this opportunity of tendering his thanks to him.

Bangkok,
September 1st, 1908. }

NAI THIEN.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

- On page 3 line 13 from top, insert "Chula" before "Sakkaraj".
- " " 4 " 2 from bottom, delete comma after "men" and
insert comma after "each".
- " " 8 " 16 from top, for "precipitate" read "precipitate".
- " " 8 " 3 from bottom, for "playes" read "played".
- " " 8 " 2 from bottom, for "wad" read "was".
- " " 9 " 10 from top, delete "and" at the beginning of
the line.
- " " 10 " 3 from bottom, for "Byathadi Yaza" read "Bra
Thadiyaza".
- " " 11 " 28 from top, for "A. D. 1548" read "A. D. 1549".
- " " 11 " 2 last para, for "Portugese". read "Portuguese".
- " " 12 " 9 from top, for "Portugese" read "Portuguese".
- " " 14 " 11 from top, insert "Chula" before "Sakkaraj".
- " " 14 " 7 from bottom, insert "Chula" before "Sakkaraj".
- " " 19 " 2 from top, insert "Chula" before "Sakkaraj".
- " " 20 " 5 in para above the table for "Kin" read "King".
- " " 32 " 13 from top, insert "of" before "500".
- " " 33 " 23 from top, for "allegiance" read "allegiance".
- " " 42 last line on page for "engagment" read "engagement".
- " " 46 line 2 in second para, for "fom" read "from".
- " " 70 " 5 from top, for "seige" read "siege".
- " " 73 " 13 from top, for "Tharawaddy" read "Tharrawaddy".
- " " 75 " 18 from top, delete comma after "who".
- " " 78 " 7 from top, for "afte" read "after".

The Society does not admit any responsibility on its part for the views expressed by the contributors individually. In transliteration each author has followed his own system.

Burmese Invasions of Siam, Translated from the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi.

I.

Preface.

The materials for the subject of this paper were drawn almost entirely from the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi, a History of Burma in Burmese compiled by order of King Bagyidaw of Burma in the year 1191 Burmese era, A. D. 1829.

The native work has been closely adhered to in this paper, so much so that it may be considered a free translation of the original covering the period treated of. A resumé of the whole of what is contained here will be found in Sir Arthur Phayre's History of Burma. In his history Sir Arthur Phayre has also followed the Hmannan Yazawin fairly closely, and he has utilized all the information which the native work can offer that is worthy of a place in a history written on European lines and arranged it, at least as regards the pre-Alaungpric period, almost in the order it is given in the original. But what a wide difference there is between history written according to native ideas and that written on European principles, and how far Sir Arthur Phayre has sifted and condensed the information contained in the original may be imagined when fifteen pages, each containing twenty eight lines of print in the native history are worked into thirty one lines in Sir Arthur Phayre's.

So as not to make the subject of this paper appear isolated, it is deemed proper to give a short introduction on the state of affairs in Burma for a period of about 30 years preceding the date on which the subject treated of here opened; in fact commencing with the birth of the first invader of Siam, describing in bare outline his career, and leading up to the invasion itself.

Introduction.

The political condition of Burma in the old days before the rise of the last dynasty was much the same as that of Siam about the same period. The whole country was divided into small principalities, at one time independent and prosperous, and even holding neighbouring states in subjection, while at another, overthrown, dependent, or subject to a more powerful neighbour. As in Siam in those days there was no recognized rule of succession, and on the demise of a king or a chief, whoever of the kith and kin of the deceased could intrigue most and gather a large number of adherents secured the succession. Therefore, the overthrow of a powerful or suzerain state was brought about quite as much, if not more, by this internal struggle for succession as by the rise in power of a neighbour which had enjoyed a short term of rest, and been able to recoup its exhausted energy.

Though the whole country was honeycombed with "towns" each under a governor, a chief, or a ruler who in some cases, depending on territorial extent as well as in power, was dignified under the name of a king, yet the principal states or kingdoms about half a century before the subject of this paper, viz. the first organized invasion of Siam by the Burmese, took place, were the kingdom of Ava under a Burmese king, that of Hanthawaddy under a Mon or Talaing King, that of Dinnyawaddy or Arakan under an Arakanese King, and those of Toungoo and Prome. The last two being situated almost midway between two powerful rival kingdoms, the Burmese at Ava and the Mon at Hanthawaddy, enjoyed an unenviable position of having to submit to frequent political changes; now under a Viceroy who was sometimes raised to the dignity of tributary King, appointed from Ava, and a little while after, under another from Hanthawaddy; occasionally asserting their independence when the two rival kingdoms had exhausted their power by mutual struggle for supremacy or by internecine strife for succession to the throne.

About thirty years before the first invasion of Siam by the Burmese, there was born to the King of Toungoo, Maha Thirizeya Thura, then enjoying fairly independent position, a son who subsequently rose to great power, overthrew his more powerful southern neighbour, brought Arakan under nominal subjection, threatened

the King of Ava with overthrow, and led a well organized army into Siam.

As usual with all native chronicles, a great deal of myth and story surrounds the personality of any king of eminence. In the case of the first invader of Siam, who was regarded as one of three national heroes, the very conception was forewarned by a dream to his august mother that the very sun descended from the heavens, cleaved her womb and took abode there. His birth was as usual, attended by thunder and lightning and heavy showers, and what was stranger than all was that a thick shower of hail about the size of a moderate-sized punelo also fell.

According to the chronology of the Hmannan Yazawin, he was born on Wednesday the 1st of waning Kasôn,¹ Sakkaraj 878, (A. D. 1516.), and was named Tabin Shweti. He ascended the throne on the death of his father on Thursday 5th of waxing Nadaw² 892 (A. D. 1530.); thus he was barely fifteen when raised to kingly dignity and power, and thenceforth the native chronicler styles him Mintara Shweti.

He traced his origin to the Burmese Kings of Ava and took a pride in his Burmese ancestry.

He made repeated attempts to subjugate Hanthawaddy and finally succeeded in the year 899 (A. D. 1537.), when the King of Hanthawaddy fled to his brother-in-law the King of Prome. Then, he captured Martaban which offered a stout resistance; and on the fall of Martaban, Moulmein submitted. Having conquered the whole of the Mon territory, he transferred his seat of government to Hanthawaddy. That is the reason why he is known as King of Hanthawaddy in Siamese History, but he was not a Mon by birth though subsequently he took to some Mon manners and customs, such as cropping the hair and wearing the Mon head-dress.

In the year 904 (A. D. 1542.), Prome fell to him after a protracted siege, the King of Prome surrendering, only asking that he and his relatives might be spared.

In the year 908 (A. D. 1546.), the King of Arakan having died, his son succeeded to the throne, but the succession was

1. May.

2. December.

contested by the deceased King's brother who was governor of Sandoway. He sought the assistance of Mintara Shweti who was only too willing to render it, and who accordingly marched an army to Arakan. After laying siege to the capital for some time an agreement was come to by which the new King of Arakan was to cede Sandoway and certain other territory to his uncle who was to be recognised as king independent of Arakan, and both to be nominally subject to Mintra Shweti.

Thus Mintara Shweti was actually King of Toungoo, I'rome, and the whole of the Mon country, and the nominal suzerain of Arakan and Sandoway when the era of his warlike relations with Siam opened.

—)o(—

Taking advantage of Mintara Shweti's absence in Arakan, the King of Siam sent Thamein Kanburi and Thamein Dawtaka with 200 elephants, 1,000 horse, and 60,000 men to capture Tavoy. On the arrival of the Siamese troops, the Governor showed only a shadow of resistance and then fled to Ye.

News of the capture having been brought to the capital, Mintara Shweti sent 40,000 men by water with a flotilla of 100 big and 300 small sailing vessels, and 200 elephants, 2,000 horse and 80,000 men by land to expel the Siamese from Tavoy and beyond the frontier. The expedition was quite successful, the Burmese following the Siamese forces well into Siamese territory.

In 910 (1548 A. D.), Mintara Shweti, probably in a spirit of retaliation but more likely prompted by a desire for conquest, made extensive preparations for the invasion of Siam. An order of mobilisation was issued to all viceroys and governors to come forward with their contingent of elephants, horse and men. The governors of the towns to the east of the capital lying on the line of march were ordered to get stores and provisions ready. Then on the 13th waxing Tazaungmôn³ 910 (1548 A. D.), Mintara Shweti began his march from Hanthawaddy. The vanguard division consisted of 4 regiments of horse each 2,000 strong and 8 regiments of infantry composed of 5,000 men, each under their respective provincial governors; and also a corps of 200 elephants distributed

among the infantry. The principal commanders in this division were, Mintara Shweti's brother-in-law as well as chief adviser called Bayin Naung⁴ who was governor of Hlaing, and the governors of Martaban, Sittaung and Ye.

The central division in which Mintara Shweti himself marched consisted of 80 elephants, 800 horse and 40,000 men under the command of Yaza Thingyan, with Nanda Kyawthu second in command. The rear-guard division consisted of the same strength as the vanguard and the principal commanders were the Kings of Toungoo and Prome and the governors of Tharrawaddy and Bassein.

At Martaban a bridge of boats was constructed from Martaban to Moulmein and the whole army of horse and men crossed over it. The elephants were taken higher up the river where it was narrow and fordable for them, with the exception of the happy creature that conveyed His Majesty, which was carried across by means of a big raft.

From Moulmein march was made to Taungpabôn the Burmese frontier town, and thence to Kanburi, and thence again in the direction of Yodaya (Ayuthia). Amusements and entertainments were held at every encampment on the way.

The King of Siam hearing of the invasion, was not slow in getting an army ready and came out to meet the invader on the way. News of the march of the Siamese was brought in to Mintara Shweti by the Lawas, and orders were issued to make preparations to give battle.

The three divisions were spread out, the King of Prome was in the centre with 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 50,000 men; Bayin Naung with a like force was on the left; and the rest of the army with Mintara Shweti on the right. The left division was ordered to lie in ambush in the forest while the cavalry of the central division was ordered to advance. The Siamese army seeing the cavalry of the enemy advance charged with their elephants. The cavalry pretended a retreat so as to entice the defenders to

4. Lit: elder brother of the King. We shall hear more of this Bayin Naung in the subsequent papers for it was he who successfully overran almost the whole of central and northern Siam.

follow up and fall into a snare. The plan succeeded entirely, and the whole of those who were too eager in their pursuit fell into the hands of Bayin Naung who closed in from the left. The main Siamese army came up to the rescue, but by that time the right wing with Mintara Shweti also came up, and in the battle which ensued the Siamese army was defeated and forced to retreat. Among those captured were the son and the brother of the King of Siam, and the forces surrounded and caught in the ambushade. The King himself made a hasty retreat withdrawing all his army for the defence of the capital Ayuthia. The invading army then followed up but was unable to take the city owing to its commanding position, surrounded as it was by water, and also to the strong defence made, in which the artillery served by Kala Panthays (foreigners) played an important part in keeping the invaders off at a safe distance.

After investing the city for about a month without any appreciable effect on the defenders, Mintara Shweti called a council and proposed that the outlying provinces of Kamanpaik,⁵ Thaukkatè,⁶ and Peikthalauk⁷ should be first captured; this was approved of by Bayin Naung and others, and the following morning the forces were withdrawn and advance was made in the direction of Kamanpaik.

The King of Siam on learning of the retreat arranged to follow up the enemy in three different routes:—one force under the command of his brother Oya Peikthalauk and Aukbya Setki, another under the command of his son-in-law Oya Lagun Einma and Oya Ram, and a third under his own command.

Within three marches from Kamanpaik Mintara Shweti became aware of the pursuit, and he immediately ordered a halt and disposed of his army to meet the pursuers. The triple divisional formation was again ordered; Bayin Naung and four others were placed in the centre, the governor of Martaban and four others on the right, and the governor of Sittaung and four others on the left. A general march of the three divisions was ordered to meet the

5. Kamphengphet.

6. Sukhothai.

7. Phisnulók.

pursuers on the way, while Mintara Shweti himself brought up the rear. He was mounted on his richly caparisoned elephant and immediately surrounding and guarding him were various descriptions of armed men among whom mention is made of the presence of 300 Kala (foreigners) foot lancers and 300 Kala Panthay (foreigners) musketeers. With him were the tributary Kings of Toungoo and Prome on the left and the right respectively, and the governor of Bassein in the rear.

After marching about two miles, Mintara Shweti sent a mounted messenger to Bayin Naung who was some distance ahead, ordering him not to give battle until he himself came up with the rear. The order was explicitly addressed only to Bayin Naung, but Mintara Shweti must have meant it to be a general one for all the three divisions. At any rate, the order was conveyed only to Bayin Naung, while the left and right wings were left uninformed of it.

While the three divisions were resting near a lake, a reconnoitring party of 300 horse was sent out and it came in contact with the advance horse of the Siamese. After a skirmish the reconnoitring party retreated and informed the main divisions of the approach of the Siamese. Orders were issued to be prepared for the attack.

The Siamese army also advanced in three divisions, and this form of battle order appears to be the most favoured one in those days. On the approach of the Siamese the Burmese right under the governor of Martaban and four other leaders advanced and came in contact with the Siamese left under Oya Peikthalauk, Auk-tè-nan and Oya Thenna. The Burmese left under the governor of Sittaung and four others also advanced and engaged in conflict with the Siamese right under Aukbya Setki, Oya Tizi and Oya Ram.

Bayin Naung was at first in a great dilemma as to whether he should obey Mintara Shweti's order and await his arrival, in which case he would be mistaken for a coward by his brother generals on the right and left who were ignorant of the order, and moreover robbed of the honour and glory of success by those who were barely his equal in ability or in birth, for he was of royal blood; or, should he enter into the general conflict in defiance of

the order and thus incur His Majesty's displeasure, and run the risk of having to sacrifice his head in atonement. However, he was not long in coming to a decision ; he chose the latter and took the risk of losing his head rather than be looked upon as a coward and robbed of the honours of the day. This decision of his was strictly in keeping with his character and temperament as we shall learn in the subsequent papers which will treat of his entry into Siam, not as on this occasion under the orders of a King, but as King himself issuing orders more stringent and peremptory than he was then receiving. His division was met by the Siamese under Oya Lagun Einma, the son-in-law of the King of Siam, who was assisted by Oya Yokarat.

Success favoured the Burmese arms and the Siamese army was defeated with great loss. On the left of the Siamese army, commander Auk-tè-nan was captured, Oya Theenna was killed in the fight, while Oya Peikthalauk made a precipitate retreat leaving behind the elephant he rode on. On the right Aukbya Setki was killed on the field and Oya Tizi and Oya Ram made a hasty retreat. In the centre Oya Lagun Einma and Oya Yokarat were also worsted and made a quick retreat; the latter abandoned his elephant and took to horse in the flight; the former fled with his elephant, but on the way the animal took to a lake from which it was found impossible to get it away. The Burmese in hot pursuit found the retreating general in that sorry plight and so surrounded the lake. Oya Lagun Einma got off the obstinate beast and tried to escape on foot but was captured together with the animal which was responsible for the final disaster. The rout of the Siamese army was complete, and the Burmese were so eager in their pursuit of the flying army that it was late in the evening when Bayin Naung was able to gather in his horse-men. The native chronicler is very reticent of the casualties on the Burmese side; in the whole narrative of the incidents of the battle not one casualty to Burmese arms is mentioned.

Special notice is made of the bravery displayed by Bayin Naung's son Zeya Thiha, then only a boy of 13, who fought by the side of his father. Under the name of Maha Upayaza, he plays a fairly important part when his father invaded Siam, but he was far behind his father in ability.

When Mintara Shweti, who was some distance behind, heard the report of guns, he knew that fighting had commenced, and so came up with all speed. He arrived on the scene of battle towards the afternoon but did not take part in the fight, for even at that hour, it was plain that the success of the day would be his.

Notwithstanding that his army had secured a complete victory, he was still greatly displeased at the way his order was disobeyed. When all the generals presented themselves before him in the course of the evening, and each in turn reported how he and his men had fought, bringing forward whatever prisoners and spoils of war he had been able to secure, Mintara Shweti asked them how they had dared to disobey his order, and thus rob him of the honours of the day. Bayin Naung explained how the divisions on the right and left which did not receive the order advanced on the approach of the Siamese, and how he also advanced to the attack as he could not bear the idea of being thought a coward. Mintara Shweti, mollified by the success which attended his army, said he was not inclined to be captious and fastidious in-as-much as the apparent disobedience of his command had not resulted in a reverse to the arms. He not only forgave his generals but most royally rewarded them as well as those who distinguished themselves in the field, by offers of valuable presents and promotions in rank and title.

As regards the spoils seized in the battle only elephants, horses, arms and ammunition were held as state property, while the rest including men, cattle, gold, silver, wearing apparel and food stuffs were made over to the persons who captured or obtained them. From this mode of disposal of the loot, one can imagine what amount of looting and plunder there would be in the Burmese army of those days.

When each had been rewarded as he deserved Mintara Shweti consulted his generals as to the next step to be taken. One of them Maha-Gyi by name suggested that they should march on to the capital, saying that the taking of it would be an easy matter as the Siamese had suffered two signal defeats, first at Yazathein when the son and the brother of the Siamese Monarch were made prisoners, and secondly in the recently concluded battle when the son-in-law was captured; and since in both these battles the loss of the Siamese in elephants,

horse, men and arms was very considerable and the morale of the men had been shattered, the defence of the capital could not possibly be strong. The King of Prome on the other hand suggested return to Hanthawaddy; he said the Siamese capital was unlike others: it was surrounded by rivers, streams and other water courses rendering the approach difficult, very strongly built and well mounted with a large number of heavy guns and cannons, and well defended also by a strong force. The river approach was defended by ships manned by Kala Panthays. It had never before been taken by any invading force, and to take it then would mean a slow siege necessitating the throwing up of forts, ramparts, and trenches. The investing army would suffer for want of provisions, as none were procurable in the neighbourhood, and foraging would not be permitted unmolested. His idea was to return to Hanthawaddy, conquer Ava and the Shan states, and then invade Siam again with the auxiliaries obtained from the conquered kingdoms and states. A third suggestion was put forward by one Nanda Thingyan. He said the Siamese had already suffered two defeats with heavy losses, and the son, the brother, and the son-in-law of their Sovereign were held as prisoners. In the circumstances he believed that the Siamese King would sue for peace; even if he did not, there was time enough for further operations which might be directed against Kamanpaik, Thaukkate and Peikthalauk. The taking of these towns, he said, would present no difficulty. Then during the rains, part of the army not required to hold the towns would be employed in cultivating the surrounding land, and another party stationed at Kamanpaik to build a flotilla of boats for the transport of the grain and other provisions gathered during the recess in the rains. When thus fully provided, to make another attempt at reducing the capital. This suggestion obtained the support of Bayin Naung and was accepted by Mintara Shweti.

Accordingly the whole Burmese army marched to Kamanpaik which was taken without struggle, the governor running away on the approach of the Burmese.

While preparations were being made for the march to Thaukkate, a written message from His Majesty Byathadi Yaza, King of Siam, arrived together with presents of green and red woollen cloths, panungs (lit: single breadth "paso" or Burmese

loin cloth) red and white pieces of foreign cloth and sweet smelling woods. The message was to the effect that on condition of his son, brother and son-in-law being released he would take the oath of allegiance and pay yearly 30 war elephants, 300 ticals of silver, and the customs revenue⁸ of Tenasserim. If the conditions were accepted, two white elephants named Byat-Kyi and Byat-Ngè would be presented also. Mintara Shweti praised Nanda Thingyan for his foresight, as things turned out just as he had expected, and rewarded him. Preparations for further march were at once countermanded and the Siamese envoys were sent back with the understanding that the Burmese Sovereign would accept the offers made by their King. His Siamese Majesty then sent Oya Peikthalauk and Oya Thawunkalauk⁹ as his representatives to take the oath of allegiance in his stead, and to convey, as promised, the two white elephants which were sent adorned with gold trappings, and accompanied by two other faultless elephants saddled with sumptuously fitted howdahs.

After accepting the presents and administering the oath, Mintara Shweti released all the prisoners of war, allowed them to resume their former rank and dignity, and conferred further honours on the three royal captives and also on Oya Peikthalauk and Oya Thawunkalauk and allowed them to return.

Two days after the departure of the Siamese, His Majesty of Burma ordered a march homewards via Dalaung. Such of his army as were unable to keep up with the rather forced marches were left behind in charge of the governor of Moulmein. He himself arrived at Hanthawaddy on the 3rd of waxing Tagu¹⁰ 910 (A. D. 1548.), the expedition lasting nearly five months.

Thus ended the first organized invasion of Siam by the Burmese.

The sequel to Mintara Shweti's career was a distressing one. Falling into the hands of a Portugese adventurer, he took to drink and became incapable of attending to state affairs. He was subsequently assassinated in his bed by a Mon nobleman who acted as his chamberlain.

8. Lit : tax on shipping.

9. Swankhalok.

10. April.

SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF
THE SAME INVASION.

**Invasion of
Siam.**

A. D. 1548.

**Retreat
from
Yuthia.**

Provoked by the attack from the King of Siam, Tabeng Shweti determined to invade that country. His preparations were on a great scale, and occupied him during the greater part of the year. Near the close of the year, when the country is dry after the rainy season, the whole army was assembled at Martaban.¹ The arrangements for the campaign were, as on all previous occasions, under the orders of Buring Naung. A small body of Portugese, probably employed only as gunners, formed a part of the army. They were commanded by James Soarez, who afterwards rose to high office. The army crossed the Salween river, and marching in an easterly direction, reached the Menam river in its upper course. From thence it marched down the river-banks in three columns. When nearing Yuthia or Yodaya, the then capital, the invaders met with a spirited resistance, but after severe fighting forced their way to the vicinity of the city. The King of Pegu, as had happened to him in Arakan, found the defences so strong, and by reason of the channels of the river so difficult to approach by an army, that, on the advice of Buring Naung, he determined to retreat. The difficulty of feeding his large army also contributed to this resolution. The Siamese incessantly attacked the retreating invaders, thousands of whom were slain or died of hunger and disease. Fortunately for the Burmese King, the son-in-law of the King of Siam was taken prisoner in a skirmish. This led to negotiations, and the Burmo-Talaing army was allowed to continue its retreat without further attack. The expedition occupied five months.

1. In the history of Siam, this first invasion by the King of Pagu is stated to have occurred A. D. 1543. See Bowring's Siam Vol 1. p. 46.

II.

Introduction.

The last paper closed with the assassination of Mintara Shweti which took place at about 3 a. m. on Wednesday the 1st. of waxing Kasôn¹ 912 (A.D. 1550.) while he was on his way to capture a white elephant, the finding of which was falsely reported to him as an artifice to allure him away from the capital and from those who were faithful to him. The assassin's brother, Thamein Sawtut, a Mon nobleman, who was governor of Sittaung and who was the leader of the plot and the instigator of the foul murder, gathered his partisans, fortified Sittaung and proclaimed himself King under the name of Thamein Setkawaw.

At that time Bayin Naung, or to give his full name Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata, was at Dala trying to suppress a rebellion headed by another Mon nobleman named Thamein Tawrama. Bayin Naung's brother Thihathu who was viceroy of Toungoo was at Hanthawaddy, being called over from Toungoo to look after the affairs in Hanthawaddy. When news of the death of Mintara Shweti reached Hanthawaddy, Thihathu and his followers marched as quickly as they could to Toungoo, and after making the defences of the city strong, he proclaimed himself independent assuming the name of Min Gaung. So did the viceroy of Prome, Thado Dama Yaza who assumed the name of Thado Thu. Many of the provincial governors also tried to be as independent as they could. Thus, the kingdom consolidated by Mintara Shweti only about ten or fifteen years ago was again broken up into small states.

Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata had, as we have seen in the account of Mintara Shweti's invasion of Siam, proved himself the most capable man both in council chamber and in the field of battle. It is no wonder then that he was looked upon as the most suitable successor to Mintara Shweti by such of the right minded patriots who desired to see a united Burma. In fact, when Mintara Shweti became so addicted to drink that he very often committed acts of manifest injustice and capriciousness, the nobles requested Bayin

1. May.

Naung to depose his brother-in-law and make himself King. But with a fidelity very rare in those days, Bayin Naung very politely refused the offer of the crown, saying he could not be ungrateful. However, after the death of Mintara Shweti he aspired to sovereign authority not only over a small state or kingdom but over the whole of Burma proper and Hanthawaddy. His ambition was more than fulfilled, for when his thoughts turned to conquest abroad he was King of Hanthawaddy, Toungoo and Prome, as well as of Ava, and the suzerain of the whole of the Shan States with the exception of Theinni (Shan, Hsen-wi).

As early as the beginning of Sakkaraj 915 when he had reconquered the territories held by his predecessor and made his position secure, he consulted his nobles as to the invasion of Siam, saying that it was tributary to Burma after the conquest of Mintara Shweti, but that it had again asserted independence. He was, however, advised by them to first conquer Ava and the Shan States, pointing out that the conquest of Siam was not an easy matter, and the reason why it submitted to Mintara Shweti was because the son—the brother, and the son-in-law of the Siamese King were unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the Burmese. This advice he followed. His first attempt to subdue Ava was a failure, but his second attempt was successful and he extended his conquests right into the Shan territory to the north and north-west of Ava.

In the year 915 (A.D. 1553.) he assumed the title of King Thiri Thudama Yaza (Siri Sudhamma Rājā), but he is better known as Bayin Naung or as Kyawdin Nawrata, and in this paper he will be called by the latter although Sir Arthur Phayre and others prefer the former.

— 10 : —

On Wednesday the 5th. of waxing Tazaungmôn² Sakkaraj 919 (A.D. 1557.) an expedition started from Hanthawaddy to punish the Sawbwa of Monè for his encroachment into Thibaw (Shan, Hsipaw). The expedition also led to the submission of the Shan Sawbwas of Nyaunggywe, Yauksauk, Mobyè and Naungmùn. At its close a consultation was held as to whether to attack and take Theinni another Shan State on the borders of China, or to march south to

Zimmè (Chiengmai), the capital of the country known as Haribônza (Haribhunja). The majority were in favour of marching south and the reasons put forward were:— that as all the other Shan States had fallen, Theinni must, as a matter of course, submit whenever attacked; that Chiengmai with its fifty seven provinces was well armed, and had never been attacked and taken before; that it was contiguous with the Mon territory; and that when it had been taken, it could be used as a base for operations against Kyaingrôn the capital of the country of Mahanagara, Kyaingtôn the capital of Kemawara, and against other towns on the east, the territories of the Yun and the Gôn.

Having thus decided, the march southwards began. King Kyawdin Nawrata's son Maha Upayaza with two regiments of cavalry and ten regiments of infantry marched in the van; then came the King's own division consisting of four regiments of cavalry and twelve regiments of infantry, and the rear was under the King of Toungoo with a like force as the van. The auxiliaries consisted of Shan contingents under the sons and the brother-in-law of the Sawbwa of Monè, who was excused, owing to illness, from following the expedition. In twenty four marches from Monè Dasin ferry on the banks of the Thanlwin (Salween) was reached, where a bridge was constructed and the whole army crossed over. A new disposition of the forces was then made, with Maha Upayaza on the right, the King of Prome in the centre and King Kyawdin Nawrata's son-in-law the King of Ava on the left. Then came King Kyawdin Nawrata's own forces behind the three advance divisions, and lastly the forces under the King of Toungoo. From Dasin ferry, it took twenty one marches to reach Chiengmai.

Bra Than, King of Chiengmai, hearing of the approach of the Burmese made preparations to intercept them on the way, but young Binnya Thane Lôn one of his nobles told him that there was no chance of success in a pitched battle owing to the superior number of the Burmese forces, and that it would be very much better to put the defences in thorough repair and defend the city from assault; and if there was no likelihood of standing the siege successfully, submission would be a wiser course than to have the city sacked and destroyed. The King

of Chiengmai replied "Is it possible to seize my city as a kite would a small chick?" He then withdrew his forces into the city and remained on the defensive.

On account of their large number, the Burmese were able to completely surround the city. The nobles and ministers of the King of Chiengmai advised him to submit but he replied "Is my city only a piece of mat so that they can simply roll it up and take it? The auxiliaries from my fifty seven provinces have not yet arrived, and as soon as they are here I shall give the enemy a battle outside the city". King Kyawdin Nawrata one day commanded a combined attack on all sides, with strict orders that anyone found to have failed in his duty would be executed. The combined attack was a success; a breach was effected at one point of the city, and the enemy entered by it, overpowered the defenders and occupied the city. When half the city fell, the King of Chiengmai left it and went to the invader with presents of silks, satins, laces, musk, amber etc. and asked to be spared his life. The Burmese Sovereign had it proclaimed by beat of gong that no one must be captured and taken as prisoners of war, and those already taken should be set at liberty at once, giving as his reason for this act of mercy that Chiengmai was a place where Buddhism had already been established.

The King of Chiengmai and his ministers Thane Lôn and Thane Lan were then administered the oath of allegiance to remain faithful to King Kyawdin Nawrata and his descendants down to his great grandchildren. The governors of the fifty seven provinces were called in and made to take the oath of allegiance to the same effect. The annual tribute was fixed at ten elephants, ten ponies, one hundred ticals of silver, and also laces, silks, satins, embroidered cloths, amber, musk etc.

The Burmese King then established outposts on the frontiers adjoining Yodaya (Ayuthia), Linzin and Zinrôn; and after leaving a force of 100 elephants, 10,000 horse and 50,000 men under the command of Binnya Dala and Binnya Set to guard Chiengmai from attack by its neighbours, he returned to Ava along the route he had come, and arrived at the northern capital on 12th. of waxing Wagaung³ 920 (A. D. 1558). The return was somewhat

delayed by having again to punish the Sawbwas of Monè, Nyaunggywe, and Yauksauk who, disregarding the allegiance they had sworn, very promptly murdered a small force of 300 men left at Monè and demolished the bridge across the Salween almost as soon as their suzerain was across the river, and who were ever thinking of throwing off the yoke of the Burmese.

Mention is made, in the Hmannan Yazawin, of King Kyawdin Nawrata having sent whole families of skilled artisans and handicraftsmen, such as painters, lathe workers, gold and silversmiths, blacksmiths, bronze workers, masons, lacquer workers, dyers, embroiderers, perfumers and also men skilled in the training and care of elephants and ponies, as well as those skilled in the culinary art, to Hanthawaddy and made them settle down there. It is also mentioned that he sent learned Buddhist priests from Hanthawaddy with portions of the Tripitaka which were found wanting in the collections at Chiengmai.

Within two or three months of his arrival in Ava, report came from Chiengmai of the preparations made by Bra-Sè-Zit, King of Linzin, to attack Chiengmai. The report further said that the chiefs of Brè,⁴ Anan,⁵ Lagun,⁶ Turaing,⁷ and Zinkaung⁸ had joined the King of Linzin. King Kyawdin Nawrata summoned his councillors and asked their advice. The Maha Upayaza was of opinion that a large force need not be sent, as there was already a fairly good force under Binnya Dala and Binnya Set at Chiengmai, and the King of Chiengmai also had a fairly good force of all arms of his own. He thought if orders were sent to the Sawbwas of Monè and Nyaunggywe to go and assist Chiengmai, the combined forces would be sufficient to repel an attack. The King of Prome, on the other hand, was of different opinion and took a more serious view of the situation, saying that Linzin was a kingdom sufficiently strong in itself, and it had been further reinforced by the coöperation of the chiefs of Brè and Anan; and then again, it was not many months

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4. Muang Phrè.
 5. Muang Nan.
 6. Nakon Lampang.
 7. Chiengrai?
 8. Chiengkong.

since that Chiengmai was conquered, and the faithfulness of the nobles in Chiengmai had as yet no test or proof. He recommended sending an army under the command of one or the other of the King's sons or brothers. The latter suggestion was approved of by King Kyawdin Nawrata, and accordingly an army composed of five regiments of cavalry 6000 strong, and seventeen regiments of infantry consisting of 500 elephants and 140,000 men was sent under the supreme command of his son-in-law the King of Ava who was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole expedition. The start from Ava was made on Wednesday the 7th. of waxing Nadaw⁹ 920 (A.D. 1558.) in the direction of Nyaunggywe and Monè, where the contingents from the two Shan States joined the main army. From Monè the route taken was exactly the same as in the first expedition. On arrival at Chiengmai, the commander-in-chief, in consultation with Binnya Dala, Binnya Set, Thane Lôn and Thane Lan, marched against Turaing. The King of Linzin remained at Zinthane¹⁰, while the governor of Turaing was made to hold Turaing with a strong force. The town was, however, stormed and taken and the governor himself and the King of Linzin's general Binnya Kin and his two lieutenants Thane Sôt and Thane Win were all taken prisoners. The King of Linzin, hearing of the fall of Turaing fled to Linzin. The chiefs of Brè, Anan, Zinthane, and Zinkaung also fled from their towns to Linzin, taking their families with them. The success of the expedition was reported to the capital, when His Majesty of Burma issued orders giving Anan to Binnya Thane Lôn, Zinthane to Binnya Than Baik, Brè to Binnya Thè, and Turaing to Binnya Thane. When all these appointments had been made and the above had been duly installed, the whole expeditionary army was recalled.

Thus ended Bayin Naung's or Bayin Naung Kaywdin Nawrata's invasion of Northern Siam: and it was but a prelude to his far more important invasion of Southern Siam resulting in the fall of Ayuthia which will be dealt with in the following paper.

9. December.

10. Chieng-Sen?

The Hmannan Yazawin gives a chronological list of eighteen Kings of Chiengmai, from Sakkaraj 656 (A.D. 1294.) to 920 (A. D. 1558.) the year in which Chiengmai became a dependency of Burma. The list is given as an appendix to this paper, and it may be of interest to compare it with the chronicles of Chiengmai.

SIR ARIHUR P. PHAYRE'S
ACCOUNT OF THE NARRATIVE CONTAINED
IN THE SECOND PAPER.

**Subdues
Zimmè.**

**August A. D.
1558.**

**May A. D.
1559.**

Bureng Naung returned to Pegu, but the following year had to punish the states of Thiboa and Monè. From the latter he marched on to Zimmè, the Chief of which had assisted that state. The country presented grave difficulties, but the city was reached after forty-five days of arduous march. The King was compelled to surrender his capital and swore allegiance to the invader. He agreed to pay an annual tribute of elephants, horses, silk, and other products of his country. An army of occupation was placed at Zimmè to enforce the treaty and watch the frontiers of Siam and Lengzeng or Laos.¹ The conqueror then returned to Ava. He at once commenced to settle the taxation payable by the people of Burma, and received the homage of the Chiefs of the country East of Bamoa up to the frontier of China. They were excused from paying tribute, probably from dread of offending the Emperor of that country. While thus employed, news was brought that the King of Laos or Lengzeng was gathering a force to attack the Burmese army in Zimmè. The King of Ava was at once sent with reinforcements, and the attack having been repelled, he was recalled. Bureng Naung then proceeded to Pegu, where he arrived at the beginning of the rainy season.

1. Lengzeng is the Burmese name for what was the chief city of Laos, situated on or near to the Mekong river, a considerable distance below Kiang Kheng. The seat of government appears at different periods to have been Luang Phrabang, Viengchang, and Lantchiang. See Captain W. C. M'Leod's Journal, p. 39; Travels by Louis de Carne, p. 125; Travels by Mouhot, vol. II. p. 141; and Bowring's Siam, vol. II. p. 8. note.

APPENDIX.

List of Kings of Chiengmai as given
in the Hmannan Yazawin.

In the year 388 King Anawrata of Arimaddanā Pugārāma (Pagan) conquered Haribōnza with its capital Zimmè (Chiengmai) and it became a tributary kingdom to Pagan, and remained so till the year 656, when in the reign of King Kyaw-zwa of Pagan, Chiengmai became again independent under its then King Binnya Saw Maing Rè.

Serial No.	Name of Kings	Relationship to one another	Date of accession to throne	Number years reigned	Date of death or of deposition
1	Binnya Saw Maing Rè		656	37	693
2	Thane (Sen) Pu Chun Kran	son of No. 1	693	2	695
3	Chun Tarôn	son of Binnya Ram	695	3	698
4	Naw Sôn Tarôn	son of No. 3	698	4	702
5	Thane Bu	" " No. 4	702	5	707
6	Kè Byu	" " No. 5	707	12	719
7	Saw Ba Yu	" " No. 6	719	13	732
8	Saw Kasô	" " No. 7	732	7	739
9	Thane Maing	son-in-law of No. 8	739	3	742
10	Than Bi	son of No. 9	742	40	782
11	Saw Lôn	" " No. 10	782	35	817
12	Saw Nyat	" " No. 11	817	8	825
13	Binnya Gyan	" " No. 12	825	40	865
14	Maing È	" " No. 13	865	34	899
15	Binnya Sè	" " No. 14	899	5	904
16	Saw Maing	" " No. 15	904	2	906
17	Queen Zalanpa Thiri Thudama Maha-dewi (Jalanpa Siri Sudhammā Mahā-Devī) and King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin.	Queen of No. 16 and the King of Linzin	906	7	913*
18	Bra-Than	son of Binnya Gyan No. 13.	913	7	920†

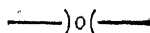
* In 913 the King of Linzin returned to Linzin and the Queen raised No. 18 to the throne

† In 920 Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata conquered Chiengmai, and Bra Than reigned as tributary King.

III

Introduction.

The second paper closed with Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata's conquest of Chiengmai and the little States to the east and north-east of it. Some four or five years elapsed from the time of his return from Chiengmai to that of his invasion of Southern Siam. During that interval he was occupied in the conquest of the country of the Kathè (Manipur) and in bringing to subjection the Shan-Chinese Sawbwas of Maingmaw Sikwin, Hotha, and Latha, on the borders of China. He himself did not accompany these expeditions as they were carried out by his tributary kings and generals.



In the year 925 (A. D. 1563) King Kyawdin Nawrata must have heard that the King of Siam had acquired four new white elephants. He evidently expected to be presented with one of them, but as there was no sign of his expectation being fulfilled, he sent a message asking for one white elephant. His Siamese Majesty sent an evasive and somewhat sarcastic reply to the effect that if the King of Burma practised the ten kingly virtues, a white elephant would be given. The reply offended King Kyawdin Nawrata and he made up his mind to invade and conquer Siam. He cited instances in which the Kings of Siam had to present white elephants to the Kings of Hanthawaddy, saying that in the time of King Wayu (Wareru or Waru of Martaban?) the then King of Siam had to give him a white elephant: that during the reign of Yazadayit, a white elephant called Gandayaw was presented by Siam to that powerful King of Hanthawaddy: and that not many years ago the Siamese King had to present two white elephants, Byat-Kyi and Byat-Nge, to Mintara Shweti. It is said that he sent a reply threatening with invasion, but it is very unlikely that he would thus forewarn his enemy.

He summoned his councillors and asked them to suggest the best plan to effect the conquest of Siam. One Thirizaya Kyawdin said that of the kingdoms to the east of Burma and

Hanthawaddy, those of Yodaya, Linzin, and Lawaik were the most powerful, and an army like the one employed to conquer the country of the Shans and Yuns would not be sufficient to subdue a powerful kingdom like Yodaya, and that therefore preparations on a much grander scale than hitherto must be made so as to ensure success. One Binnya Dala said that if all the tributary kings and chiefs were made to follow the expedition with their quota of forces there could be no doubt about the object being attained.

Accordingly orders were issued to all the tributary kings and chiefs for preparations on a very extensive scale to be made, and an order was also despatched at once to Chiengmai to repair all the war boats and transport vessels and bring them down, the King of Chiengmai being requested to come down with his army and co-operate in the invasion.

The vast army mobilised on this occasion consisted of the following:— The advance column under the command of King Kyawdin Nawrata's son-in-law, the King of Ava, was composed of 4 regiments of cavalry 5000 strong, and 10 regiments of infantry containing 400 elephants and 140,000 men. The Shan levies in this column were the regiments supplied and led by the Sawbwas of Momeik and Thibaw. The second column was under the command of his brother the King of Toungoo with a like force as the advance column. The Shan levies were those under the leadership of the Sawbwas of Mohnyin and Mogaung. The third column under his brother the King of Prome also contained the same number of elephants, horse and men. The Shan contingents were those under the Sawbwas of Onbaung and Monè. His son Maha Upayaza took the command of the fourth column composed of 4 regiments of cavalry 1000 strong and 10 regiments of infantry with 400 elephants and 140,000 men. The Sawbwas of Nyaunggywe and Theinni led the Shan contingents in this column. Lastly came the column in which King Kyawdin Nawrata himself marched. In addition to his body-guard of 400 elephants, 4000 horse and 40,000 men distributed equally around him in the front and rear, on the right and left, there were with him and immediately ahead of him 4 regiments of cavalry and 5 regiments of infantry.

On Monday the 12th of waning Tazaungmôn² Chula Sakkaraj 925 (A. D. 1563.) this great army of over half a million men made its start from Hanthawaddy in the direction of the town of Kamanpaik which was reached after thirty two marches. Its governor tried to resist, but with such odds against him there was absolutely no hope of success, and the Burmese took it with very little struggle, the governor and his family being made prisoners.

The King of Chiengmai, on receipt of the order from his suzerain, very promptly carried out the repair of the boats placing the governors of Einda-giri and Bônma-giri in charge of the work. Subsequently, probably mistrusting the result of the invasion and fearing the King of Siam as much as his Burman suzerain, he did not come down as requested. However, over 300 boats laden with provisions were brought down by the governors of Einda-giri and Bônma-giri before he could take any active steps to prevent the boats going down.

After the capture of Kamanpaik, Binnya Dala advised King Kyawdin Nawrata to send columns to capture Thaukkatè,³ Peikthalauk,⁴ Thuwanna-lauk,⁵ Pitsè,⁶ and Taninthari,⁷ for then, he said, the Siamese King would be "like a bird clipped of its wings." The Burmese King liked the idea, and accordingly the two columns under the King of Toungoo and his son Maha Upayaza were sent to operate against Thaukkatè; those under the Kings of Ava and Prome against Peikthalauk, while he himself marched towards Thuwanna-lauk.

The governor of Thaukkatè met the invading forces outside the city, but was compelled to retire; and in the subsequent assault by the Burmese, the city was taken and the governor captured and removed to Thuwanna-lauk. The governor of Peikthalauk made the defences strong and remained on the defensive. The invading forces surrounded the city and for five

2. Novemier.

3. Sukhothai.

4. Phisnulók.

5. Swankhalók ?

6. Phichai.

7. Tenasserim.

days no action was taken in order to give rest to the men and animals, so necessary after a long march. On the sixth day a general assault was made on the city which fell into the hands of the invaders and the governor was captured and taken to Thuwannalauk. The governor of Thuwannalauk made no resistance, but greeted King Kyawdin Nawrata on the way with presents, offering submission. The Burmese King went on to Thuwannalauk and there waited for the arrival of the forces directed against Thaukkatè and Peikthalaik. While so waiting the governor of Pitsè came to Thuwannalauk and formally tendered submission.

When all were assembled at Thuwannalauk a general move southwards was again made, and Oya Damayaza, Oya Thuwannalauk and Oya Pitsè were ordered to follow the expedition.

On arrival at Thawunkalauk⁷ a new disposition of the forces was made. The King of Prome with his men was ordered to take to boats and proceed by water. Of the forces marching by land, the column under the Maha Upayaza was placed on the right and that under the King of Ava on the left; in the centre was the division under the King of Toungoo, while King Kyawdin Nawrata's own column formed the rear.

At the first encampment after the march from Thawunkalauk Oya Damayaza asked permission of King Kyawdin Nawrata to send a message to the King of Siam to the effect that submission would be the wisest course, because to offer resistance would be futile against such a vastly superior army as the one then brought by the invader. Permission being accorded, the message was sent; but His Siamese Majesty must have greatly resented the unduly low estimate of his power and resources conveyed in it, for those who brought it were forthwith sent to prison, and orders were at once issued to his son Bra Mabein, the Crown Prince, to intercept the Burmese on the way. He was ordered to take with him 300 war boats armed with artillery and other munitions of war, and the force of Kala⁹ Brin-gyi¹⁰ (Feringi.)

⁷ Swankhalòk.

⁹ Foreigner.

¹⁰ A term generally applied to Roman Catholics; Portuguese ?

On information reaching King Kyawdin Nawrata of this first attempt from the Siamese capital to stop him in his march, he despatched three officers each with four squadrons of cavalry to reconnoitre. This party came in contact with the Siamese forces under the Crown Prince who landed his artillery and the "Kala" force and shelled the enemy's cavalry with good effect. The Burmese loss in this skirmish must have been very heavy indeed, because the Burmese historian admitted that the casualties were great. However, while the Siamese artillery handled by the "Kalas" were doing great destruction in the Burmese cavalry, the forces under the Maha Upayaza and the King of Toungoo arrived, in time to save the situation and to drive the Siamese forces back to their boats. Just at this critical moment, as if fortune specially favoured the Burmese, the boats under the King of Prome appeared on the scene. Attacked by land as well as by water, the Siamese boats could not maintain their position long and were defeated and scattered. Over a hundred war boats with all their armaments and about 200 men were captured; and there were also many killed. The Crown Prince made his escape in a specially fast canoe and returned to the capital.

Nothing daunted, His Majesty of Siam immediately despatched again his son and brother with a force of 500 elephants, 6000 horse and 60,000 men in advance; while he himself marched out afterwards with 300 elephants, 8000 horse and 80,000 men. He encamped at a place called Lônkali" which he fortified strongly and sent his son and brother to march on and meet the enemy on the way, it being his intention to drive the enemy off the Siamese soil before they could approach the capital.

The Siamese forces under the Crown Prince and the King's brother again met the Burmese cavalry who were always ahead of the main army, and forced them to retire. Following up the retreating cavalry they came upon the forces under the Maha Upayaza and the Kings of Toungoo and Ava, and a battle was fought in which the Siamese forces were defeated and compelled to fall back on the fortified camp at Lônkali. The Burmese followed up their

success and reached Lônkali, where they awaited the arrival of their King. As soon as he arrived, he decided not to delay but to attack the camp at once. The assault was successful and the camp fell into the hands of the Burmese on Monday the 11th. of waning Tabodwè ¹² 925 (A. D. 1564.) The King of Siam and his son and brother took to horse and quickly retreated to the capital. It is said that three ships were captured on the fall of Lônkali; from this it is evident that Lônkali must have been either on the bank or in the vicinity of a river.

King Kyawdin Nawrata occupied Lônkali and remained there, sending the forces under his son and brothers to invest the capital. From this also it appears that Lônkali could not be far from Ayuthia. With their heavy artillery the investing forces caused a shower of shot and shell to fall into the city, and this bombardment greatly terrified the inhabitants who then appealed to their Sovereign to submit. The King, after consulting the royal family, sent his nobles and high priests with the present of a white elephant to sue for peace, offering to abdicate the throne and follow the Burmese Sovereign to Hanthawaddy as a hostage, and to take the oath of allegiance, but soliciting that his son Bra Mahein be permitted to reign in his stead subject to the King of Burma, so that there would be no interruption in the dynasty. His Majesty of Burma consulted his brothers and nobles signifying his intention of bringing further hostility and fighting to an end; he assigned as his reason for this decision that since the investment, the priests had been suffering great hardships, and he was unwilling to cause greater hardship to the holy brotherhood by continuing the fight.

Binnya Dala advised his Sovereign that the only way by which the suzerainty could be maintained with security for any length of time would be to demand the abdication of the throne by the King, and require his residence in the Burmese capital; also that the surrender of the four white elephants should be a condition of peace.

Guided by Binnya Dala's advice King Kyawdin Nawrata told the Siamese nobles and high priests that peace would be concluded on the conditions offered by their Sovereign, and the

surrender of the four white elephants, but requested a personal interview with their King who should be accompanied by his son, the Crown Prince. He desired His Siamese Majesty and the Crown Prince to come out in their royal robes of office and dignity and meet him in his camp.

On Friday the 8th of waxing Tabaung¹³ 925 (A. D. 1564.) the King of Siam and his son Bra Mahein, the Crown Prince, proceeded on elephants from the city to interview King Kyawdin Nawrata in his camp. Three white elephants, two male and one female, were also taken as presents in addition to the usual presents of cloths of silk, wool, satin, and sweet smelling woods, unguents, liquids etc. The Siamese Sovereign, on alighting from the elephant at the entrance to the camp, was received by two chief nobles on the personal staff of the Burmese Sovereign, and was carried in a royal sedan chair to the place assigned. The same honour was not accorded to the Crown Prince who was received by two other Burmese nobles, he having to walk up to his place. The personal attendants of the Siamese King and Crown Prince were replaced by Burmese attendants. No form of obeisance was exacted from the Siamese Sovereign, and if the discourtesy of his not being received personally by the Burmese King were ignored, the meeting of the two Monarchs was on equal terms. Places were also assigned for the Burmese tributary kings and nobles to be present at the meeting. Then when all were seated in their places, King Kyawdin Nawrata came out from an inner apartment. The meeting between the two Sovereigns could not have been long judging from the conversation recorded in the Hmannan History, which on the part of the Burmese Sovereign consisted of an egotistic and vainglorious proclamation of his might and power, and on the part of the Siamese Sovereign of a humble admission of his inability to contend in arms.

Then the oath of allegiance was administered to the Siamese King, his sons and all their relatives and nobles. The Crown Prince Bra Mahein was proclaimed and installed as King of Siam. The old King's son-in-law, the governor of Peikthalauk was reinstated in his former position, rank and dignity, and so were the governors of Thaukkatè and Pitsè given back their towns

with all privileges and honours enjoyed by them formerly. The old King, his second son Bra Ramathun and Aukbya Setki were requested to accompany the Burmese King to Hanthawaddy with their families. The four white elephants which apparently offered a cause for the commencement of hostilities were also taken away. The annual tribute was fixed at 30 war elephants, 300 ticals of silver, and the shipping revenue of Tenasserim.

It is mentioned that the old King of Siam gave King Kyawdin Nawrata one of his daughters in marriage, together with presents of a complete paraphernalia of gold weighing one hundred catties, one hundred ticals of silver, and ten chosen elephants.

It is also mentioned that King Kyawdin Nawrata took away on this occasion, as he did when he conquered Chiengmai, whole families of skilled handicraftsmen and persons proficient in other professions to Hanthawaddy and made them settle down there; and that before he left Ayuthia, he entrusted the new King with 100 ticals of silver for the repair of old ruined pagodas, monasteries, salas, etc., assisted in the ordination as priests of as many men as he counted years in his age, invited one hundred priests and fed them, and presented each with the eight priestly utensils.

On Tuesday the 2nd of waning Tagu ¹⁴ 926 (A. D. 1534.) the march homeward began, and Hanthawaddy was reached on Wednesday the 6th of waxing Nayôn ¹⁵ 926 (A. D. 1534.). Thus closed the Burmese version of the first fall of Ayuthia.

Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata's relations with Siam did not end here. For some time subsequent to the conquest of Ayuthia or Southern Siam, the scene of his and his son's activity was transferred to Northern Siam from Phisnulôk up to Chiengmai and Linzin and the towns round about. He again invaded lower Siam and again captured Ayuthia, this time giving up the capital to sack and plunder. His subsequent operations leading up to this second fall of Ayuthia will be given in subsequent papers.

14. April.

15. June.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE
NARRATIVE CONTAINED IN THE THIRD PAPER.

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**Invasion of
Siam and
capture of
the capital.**

A. D. 1563.

**March
A. D. 1564.**

The Kings of Kings, notwithstanding his power and glory, felt keenly the want of one distinctive mark in popular estimation of a great Buddhist Sovereign in Indo-China, the possession of a white elephant. The King of Siam was known to have four of these venerated animals, and an opportunity was taken of some cause for dissatisfaction with that ruler, arising from events on the frontier, to send a demand that one of them should be given up. An ambiguous reply was returned, which the haughty monarch resented as a refusal, and determined to punish as an insult. An immense army of Burmese, Shans, and Talaings was collected, and divided into four great corps, under the command of the heir-apparent and the three tributary Kings. Instead of marching from Martaban, as in the invasion of 1548, the several corps assembled at Taungu and the other places on the Sittaung after the rainy season. The army marched on Zimmè, and from thence down the valley of the Menam to the capital, Yuthia. The city was invested. Three Portuguese ships, which were moored near shore and supported by batteries, were taken, and the King of Siam, disheartened at this loss, surrendered. The defeated King, his Queen, and his younger son were carried away as captives, while the elder son, styled Bramahin, was made tributary King.



1. In the history of Siam this invasion is stated to have occurred in 1547. The Burmese army is said to have numbered 900,000 men. Bowring's Siam, Vol. I. p. 49.

APPENDIX.

List of Kings of Ayuthia as given in the Hmannan History.

No.	Name of Kings	Date of Commencement of reign.	No. of years reigned	Date of death or deposition.	REMARKS.
1	Bra Yazadibadi	710	20	730	
2	Bra Yaza Mathun	730	10	740	Son of No. 1
3	Parama Yaza	740	9	749	„ „ No. 2
4	Maha Damayaza	749	19	768	„ „ No. 3
5	Bra Setkabat	768	6	774	„ „ No. 4
6	Pawra Hantha	774	37	811	„ „ No. 5
7	Parama Yazadiyaza	811	38	849	„ „ No. 6
8	Parama Tilawka	849	4	853	„ „ No. 7
9	Bra Ramadibadi	853	17	870	„ „ No. 8
10	Bra Thadiyaza	870	33	903	„ „ No. 9
11	Bra Thiri Duraman	903	1	904	„ „ No. 10
12	Mother of No. 11	904	1	905	Queen of No. 11
13	Bra Thadiyaza *	905	20	925	Son of No. 10

* In 910 Ayuthia was conquered by Mintara Shweti, but again became independent the following year on the death of Mintara Shweti. In 925 Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata again conquered and took Ayuthia.

IV.

Introduction.

In the last preceding paper the narrative closed with the return of King Kyawdin Nawrata to Hanthawaddy after his successful invasion of Southern Siam and the capitulation of Ayuthia. He was accompanied by the old King of Siam who abdicated the throne, and his second son. Hanthawaddy was reached just at the beginning of the rains which in those days seem to have put a stop to all military operations. The respite in King Kyawdin Nawrata's martial energy and activity was short and temporary, for as soon as the rainy season was over warlike preparations were again made.

We have seen that when King Kyawdin Nawrata invaded Southern Siam, the King of Chiengmai was requested, as a tributary King, to co-operate in person. This the King of Chiengmai failed to do, most probably mistrusting the result of the invasion and fearing to offend the King of Siam by his presence among the hostile forces. His Majesty of Burma being very much offended at this failure, was bent upon punishing the delinquent.

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At the close of the rains which set in immediately after King Kyawdin Nawrata's arrival in his capital, he called a council, consisting of his son Maha Upayaza and the nobles, to deliberate on the question of the punitive expedition to Chiengmai. The Maha Upayaza expressed the opinion that the King of Chiengmai thought Ayuthia could not be conquered, and that if such was the case his presence in the invading army would be a cause for offence and reprisal on the part of his neighbour and kinsman, the King of Siam. Now that Ayuthia had been reduced to a dependent kingdom, a mere show of force would be sufficient to bring the King of Chiengmai to his senses as well as submission. One of the councillors Sôkkate by name differed from the Maha Upayaza and said that the King of Chiengmai was, from the beginning, ever thinking of throwing off the Burman suzerainty, and was always more friendly disposed towards his Siamese neighbour. The conquest of Ayuthia would have little or no effect in instilling fear in him and teaching him to respect

his suzerain, as he was in league with the Kings of Linzin and Lawaik, both which kingdoms were powerful enough not to be thought lightly of. To send an army based on a low estimate of the enemy's strength would be unwise, and that an army similar to that employed against Ayuthia should be sent for success to be certain. King Kyawdin Nawrata approved of the latter suggestion and in accordance with it the following preparations were made.

The King of Ava was ordered to call on the Sawbwas of Mogaung, Mohnyin, Momeik, Onbaung, Thibaw, Nyaunggywe and Monè to accompany the expedition with their contingents, and himself to take the command and march to Chiengmai via Monè, with a total force, made up of seven Shan and three Burmese regiments, consisting 500 elephants, 6000 horse and 120,000 men. The forces from the capital Hanthawaddy were:— Five regiments of cavalry and ten regiments of infantry under the command of Maha Upayaza consisting of 500 elephants, 6000 horse, and 120,000 men, on the right; the same number of regiments and the same number of elephants, horse and men under the command of the King of Prome in the centre; and a like force under the King of Toungoo on the left. In the rear was the column in which King Kyawdin Nawrata marched. It was composed of 5 regiments of cavalry and 10 regiments of infantry including the regiments of the King's body-guard, the units in this column consisted of 700 elephants, 5000 horse, and 150,000 men. A special feature of the body-guard regiment was that it contained 1000 " Kala " musketeers and 400 " Kala Brin-gyi " artillery men. In addition to the above there was another column under the command of King Kyawdin Nawrata's nephew, the governor of Tharrawaddy composed of 5 regiments of cavalry and 10 regiments of infantry containing 500 elephants, 6000 horse, and 120,000 men; these 10 infantry regiments included those of Oya Damayaza, the son-in-law of the old King of Siam, Oya Thuwannalauk, Oya Thaukkatè and Oya Fitsè. This column probably started from Hanthawaddy with only 5 cavalry and 6 infantry regiments, and was reinforced by the four Siamese governors named above, the place of rendezvous being Eindagiri (Indagiri); because it is said in the Hmannan History that this column marched via Eindagiri to Chiengmai.

1. Foreigner, Indian ?

2. Foreigner, European probably Portuguese ?

On Monday the 4th of waning Tazaungmôn ³ Chula Sakkaraj 926 (A. D. 1564.) this vast army started from Hanthawaddy, and in eleven marches Yōnzalin, a Burmese frontier town, was reached. Thence the route taken was in the direction of Labôn ⁴ which was reached after twenty two marches.

On news of the advent of the Burmese army spreading in the country round about, Thane Lôn governor of Zinthane, ⁵ Thane Lan governor of Lagun, the governor of Anan, and the governor of Turaing fled to Chiengmai with their families. The King of Chiengmai having grown wiser from past experience of Burmese arms and fearing punishment at the hands of his suzerain decided to submit and greet the invader on the way; while the four governors resolved not to submit to Burman supremacy, and so fled to Linzin to seek shelter there. The King of Chiengmai accordingly went and met King Kyawdin Nawrata before he reached Labôn, offering as presents four of his best elephants, Chinese silks, and musk. At the interview he denied any duplicity in his past remissness, protested his innocence of any schemes against his suzerain, and declared that his loyalty to and respect for his liege-lord were never shaken. The same, he insinuated, could not be said of the governors of Zinthane, Lagun, Anan, and Turaing who, on hearing of the advance of their suzerain, fled to Linzin, forgetful of the allegiance they had sworn.

King Kyawdin Nawrata, though not quite disposed to believe these professions of loyalty and fidelity, was nevertheless not inclined to express his opinions freely; nor was he at that moment so hard-hearted and vindictive as to punish the King of Chiengmai, although the sole purpose of the expedition was to teach him a lesson that orders from a suzerain could not be disregarded with impunity. He refrained from saying anything and by this silence made the defaulting King know that his professions of good faith would be taken for what they were worth, but that he would not be punished as he deserved.

The march was then continued to Labôn where a halt was made to await the arrival of the column under the King of Ava.

3. November.

4. Lumpun.

5. Chieng-Sen.

which come via Monè. After five days waiting the column arrived. In this column the number of Shan regiments exceeded those of the Burmese, there being seven of the former and three of the latter. King Kyawdin Nawrata ordered the contingents led by the Sawbwas of Momeik, Mogaung, and Mohnyin to join his column, and three of his regiments were given in exchange to keep the strength of the column still up to ten regiments. He did this probably because he had a poor opinion of the efficiency of the Shan troops, but more likely because he did not trust them much, and their preponderance in a division would be bad policy and a danger to the Burmese troops.

The invader then ordered three columns to march in three different directions in pursuit of the governors of Zinthane, Lagun, Anan, and Turaing. The King of Ava with his 10 regiments, in which the proportion of the Burmese and the Shan units had been reapportioned as explained above, in one direction; the governor of Tharrawaddy with his 15 regiments of which 4 were Siamese under Oya Damayaza, Oya Thuwannalauk, Oya Thaukkatè and Oya Pitsè, in another; the Maha Upayaza with his 15 regiments, in a third. The instructions to them were that they were to demand of the King of Linzin the surrender of the four fugitive governors who had taken refuge with him, and on his refusing to give up the refugees to attack and capture Linzin. The remaining three columns then marched towards Chiengmai, The King of Promé was on the right, the King of Toungoo on the left, and King Kyawdin Nawrata in the centre.

The governor of Zinthane, on getting to Mo-Lôn forest in his flight, found he was unable to reach Linzin in time. He and his family and followers therefore lay in hiding in the forest; but unfortunately for him, spies went and informed the Burmese King, then on his way to Chiengmai, of the fugitive governor's place of hiding. The King of Toungoo was at once despatched to effect the capture of the whole party. The unfortunate governor seeing escape impossible calmly surrendered, and when taken to the presence of King Kyawdin Nawrata, offered one of his daughters and two of his best elephants, and prayed for clemency, saying that it was not from feelings of disloyalty or from any sinister designs against the authority of his suzerain that he took to flight, but

simply through fear of facing the ire of His Burman Majesty that he hid himself in the forest. King Kyawdin Nawrata, in exercise of mercy, the prerogative of kings, very nobly spared the lives of the captives; moreover he said one of the ten kingly virtues enjoined on him to control his anger and to be patient and forgiving. The governor and his family were again given the oath of allegiance, and his adherents were divided into batches and kept apart from each other among the forces. Then the whole three columns marched to Zinthane.

After arrival there the King of Prome was ordered to march his column against Zinrôn.⁶ After five marches, the commander sent a written ultimatum to the governor of Zinrôn either to surrender or to fight. In the free and easy manner of showing defiance in those days, the governor very promptly put to death the unfortunate carrier of the ultimatum. This angered the King of Prome and he marched day and night to Zinrôn, and on arrival there immediately attacked and took the town. The governor escaped with his family, and it was a good thing that he managed to do so, otherwise he would receive little or no quarter. The successful commander captured and seized whatever was worth the trouble, and returned with his booty to Zinthane. His Majesty of Burma was highly pleased with the result of the operations and suitably rewarded all those who took part in them.

While staying at Zinthane the Sawbwa of Theinni arrived with a force of 100 elephants, 1000 horse, and 10,000 men, and offered to co-operate saying that he, as a vassal, should, like the other Sawbwas, do his duty by his liege-lord. The Sawbwa of Kyaingtôn,⁷ hearing of the action of his neighbour of Theinni, thought he would be in bad grace with his suzerain if he did not do the same. Accordingly he also came to Zinthane with a force of 100 elephants, 1,000 horse, and 10,000 men, and offered to take part in the operations. King Kyawdin Nawrata was very much gratified with this proof of loyalty and faithfulness, and told both the Sawbwas that their conduct was highly appreciated; that their services were not requisitioned from the first start because their territories were on the frontier of China; and that as the King of

6. Chieng-Rung.

7. Chieng-Tung.

Chiengmai and the governor of Zinthane had already surrendered, and as the army he had was more than sufficient to bring the remaining recalcitrant governors to their senses again, he would not detain them, but would ask them to return to their territories and keep the frontier in peace and order. He suitably rewarded them to show that he was not ungrateful for their offer of service and that he fully appreciated their loyalty as evidenced by their coming unasked. After the departure of the two Sawbwas he moved on to Chiengmai, and there made arrangements for the future administration of the whole of the Yun country.

[What follows here has no direct reference to Siam but to omit it from this narrative would be leaving out a link in the chain of events directly referring to Siam, and thereby make the account appear disjointed and desultory. Therefore it is thought advisable to give as briefly as possible certain events which took place in Hanthawaddy that necessitated the return in haste of Siam's great enemy.]

During the absence of King Kyawdin Nawrata all the Shan prisoners of war brought over from their native land and made to settle down in the country round about Hanthawaddy rose in rebellion and chose one among them as leader. They gradually increased, numbering between twenty and thirty thousand, and plundered and pillaged the villages and helpless people as is the way with rebels. They marched on to the capital and threatened it with attack. The nobles left in charge of the affairs at home were at their wit's end. One of them suggested to remove the queens, the royal children and the concubines to Toungoo for safety and then return to defend the capital; Toungoo, the birth-place of Mintara Shweti and Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata was, during their reign as well as during that of their successors, always regarded as a place of refuge in time of danger. Another suggested to seek the advice of Narabadi Sithu, the deposed king of Ava who was made to reside at Hanthawaddy in honourable retirement befitting his position. This latter suggestion was adopted and the deposed king was invited to the council. He disapproved of the proposal to send the royal family to Toungoo, and said that there was no cause for fear, since the people who created the disturbance were not rebels but simply freebooters. Under his direction and

by his prompt action the rebels, who suffered several reverses in encounters with the regular forces led by Narabadi Sithu in person, were held in check; but the forces at the capital were insufficient to suppress them altogether.

News of the troubles at home reached King Kyawdin Nawrata through the wife of the governor of Myaing, she having fled to Chiengmai territory for fear of the rebels. His Burman Majesty sent post-haste one of his nobles with six elephants and 800 men to ascertain the truth. This handful of men together with their leader was overpowered and captured by the rebels at the town of Taikkala, then in their hands, and the leader was killed. Receiving no further news from the capital, His Majesty of Burma sent the governor of Thanlyin (Syriam), this time with 300 elephants, and 50,000 men. This force, in attempting to break through the cordon of rebels, was attacked by the main rebel forces, who were worsted and whose leader was also slain; but the revolt was far from being suppressed. Information of the state of affairs was at once sent to King Kyawdin Nawrata and he lost no time in hastening back to his capital. Before he left, he administered the oath of allegiance to all the nobles in Chiengmai, offered the reins of government to the Maha-dewi, promoted Binnya Than-Lan to Binnya Thane-Lôn, Binnya Brè to Binnya Than-Lan and appointed one of his own officers Zwèra-Thinran to be BinnyaPan. Oya Damayaza was allowed to return to Peikthalauk.⁸

The King of Chiengmai and the governor of Zinthane with their families were requested to accompany King Kyawdin Nawrata to Hanthawaddy. He left Chiengmai with the three columns then with him, on Tuesday the 12th of waxing Kasôn⁹. Chula Sakkaraj 927, (A. D. 1565.) and arrived at Hanthawaddy on Tuesday the 10th of waxing Nayôn,¹⁰ thus taking only one lunar month less one day from Chiengmai to Hanthawaddy.

8. This last statement is somewhat inconsistent, because the four Oyas went with one of the columns operating against Linzin and the recall of Oya Damayaza is not mentioned anywhere. The only way to reconcile the inconsistency is to suppose that orders were sent to where Oya Damayaza was, though the wording of the Burmese is not to that effect.

9. May.

10. June.

After arrival in Hanthawaddy, and on seeing the handiwork of the rebels in the charred remains of many splendid and costly temples, monasteries, salas, and other religious edifices built by himself and by the former Mon rulers, Damasedi (Dhammaceti) for instance, as well as in the burnt and dilapidated condition of the royal pavilion in which he used to reside during the time of sports and festivities on the river, he became so angry that he did not even enter the city but went straight to Dala where the rebels were then assembled, and personally directed the operations. The native chronicler thought it worth while and took the trouble to record that on this occasion, His Burman Majesty discarded all forms of conveyance and actually walked about on foot with a bejewelled pair of sandals on.

In the fight at Dala the rebels were utterly routed, over 700 being killed and over 7000 captured. This number subsequently rose to over 10,000 men, probably on account of arrests made afterwards. It was King Kyawdin Nawrata's intention to burn the whole lot alive together with their wives who were also arrested after enquiry. He was however dissuaded from this dreadful deed of wholesale slaughter by the intercession of Burmese, Mon, and Yun learned priests, and only about 70 of the ringleaders were executed.

Those who rendered good service in quelling this rebellion were suitably rewarded, special mention being made of the services of the King of Prome and the deposed king of Ava on whom high honours were conferred. The Sawbwas of Momeik, Mogaung, and Mohnyin were permitted to return.

When order was re-established, King Kyawdin Nawrata set about repairing and restoring the edifices and buildings on which the rebels had left their mark of wanton destruction and vandalism, and erecting new ones surpassing far in splendour and magnificence those built previously. We shall, however, leave him for the present with his peaceful occupation of renovating and decorating his capital, and turn our attention again to Northern Siam and follow the fortunes of the three columns told off to pursue the four fugitive governors, and left behind, when King Kyawdin Nawrata returned from Chiangmai, to prosecute their purpose to the end.

Of the four governors, we have seen that the governor of Zinthane had already been captured and taken away to Hanthawaddy. The remaining three on reaching Linzin swore fealty to Bra-Sè-Zit, King of Linzin. The King with the three governors then fortified Maing-San" and with a force of 100 elephants, 8,000 horse, and 20,000 men awaited to make a stand against the pursuers. It took 32 marches for the three columns to reach Maing-San, and soon after arrival, the Maha Upayaza asked his colleagues as to the steps to be taken, whether to parley or to attack. Binnya Dala advised to defer the attack in order to give rest to the wearied troops, to survey and get to know the country round, and to gain intelligence of the enemy's strength. The King of Ava was of a different opinion, saying that delay meant disappointment and no fighting; because from his past experience of the King of Linzin, he felt sure that the slippery King would steal away during the night: he cited the instance in which he, on a former occasion at Zinthane, was left utterly disappointed by the King of Linzin leaving so unceremoniously the town which he was then holding. He said that there still was time for an assault, being only 3 p. m.; and without affording opportunity for further argument, issued orders to his officers to advance to the assault, himself setting the example by promptly leading his own elephant forward to charge. The other two commanders, could not but join in the assault, although they would have much preferred to have rested for a space.

The town was actually stormed and taken just before sundown. The native historian mentions that while the King of Ava was forcing a breach in a wooden stockade with his elephant, a well directed spear hurled (evidently with great force) from the ramparts of the town struck him in the right thigh. The spear pierced through the thigh and penetrated three inches into the elephant's side. Yet so eager was he in his work that he did not even trouble to pull the spear out, but simply cut the handle off and left the spear-head in the wound; but as to whether the thigh remained nailed to the side of the elephant or not, is not stated.

Though thus wounded he was able with his elephant to fell two or three posts of the stockade and a breach was thus effected.

Through this breach the storming forces entered and before long overpowered the defenders. As soon as the Burmese forces managed to get into the town, King Bra-Sè-Zit of Linzin escaped with such troops as he was able to save. Important personages captured included the brother of the King of Linzin who was governor of Maing-San, and who held the position of Upayaza, together with thirty nobles; three queens of the King, namely Bra-Kyi, Manura who was daughter of the King of Siam, and Thirima who was daughter of the Sawbwa of Kyaingtôn, together with twenty concubines; also the King's niece Thiri-Luta. There were also captured over 400 elephants, 1000 horse, and 5000 persons including men and women; these last must have been the inhabitants of the town. The troops were permitted to loot without let or hindrance, and they were so overjoyed with what they got in the way of booty that amusements, music and dancing were indulged in the whole night through. When all fighting was over, then only the King of Ava turned to his wound, had the spear-head extracted and the wound dressed. It is worthy of note that the King of Linzin is spoken of with the epithet "Possessor of 100,000 elephants," in the account of this fight, and occasionally in subsequent references to him.

The Maha Upayaza then called his officers and asked them what steps they would propose taking. One Thiri Zeya Kyawdin replied that the King of Linzin had made a stand because he thought much of his own forces; now that he knew that they were no match for the Burmese, he would lose heart and certainly surrender the three governors; he proposed a rest of about a week or so to enable the men and animals to recuperate, a proposal welcomed by others and adopted. After this necessary rest the pursuit was again continued in two directions; the sick and the wounded were, however, left at Maing-San under the care of Binnya Gyan and his regiment. After twelve marches from Maing-San a halt was made at a place called Naunghan, to ascertain the whereabouts of the King of Linzin.

The three governors, or Binnyas as they were styled by the Burmese historian, then told the King of Linzin that both they and the King of Ohiengmai had all agreed and plotted to throw off the Burman suzerainty, but at the last moment the King of Chiengmai's courage had failed, and he again submitted; they, on the other hand, had held to their purpose and fled to Linzin for safety; and, thanks to

the protection so kindly offered them, their lives had been saved. They further said that owing to their taking refuge in Linzin, the territory had been overrun by the Burmese army, and it was unlikely that the enemy would leave the country unless and until they were given up. In the circumstances they asked to be supplied with troops, and undertook to fight to the bitter end. The King of Linzin supplied them with 200 elephants, and 40,000 men, and on the King's enquiry they told him that first they would attack the King of Ava's column encamped at Naunghan. Accordingly the three Binnyas marched to Naunghan and were received on the way by the King of Ava with his five regiments of cavalry and thirteen regiments of infantry. In the fight, Binnya Nan's elephant fell, and he took to horse, but while doing so, a spear hurled at close quarters by a foot soldier, struck him about the waist, and so he met his death on the field. Binnya Lagun was also worsted but managed to escape on horseback. Linzin's forces were routed and put to flight, and there were captured 60 elephants and 3,000 men, and many more were killed. The victorious forces returned to camp again at Naunghan. The Maha Upayaza who was about four miles away heard the firing of guns and so sent a mounted messenger to make enquiries. He was informed that there had been a fight which had resulted in complete success and that Binnya Nan had been killed in the fight.

Yet another attempt to drive away these undesirable visitors was made, this time by one of Linzin's patriots. The King's Prime Minister (lit: Agga Mahā Senāpati) who held the title of Thane-Lôn Yazawut, said to his Sovereign "It is a great disgrace that our country should be overrun and plundered at pleasure by these strangers. Are we to submit calmly to this? Are we not men? We shall sacrifice our life's blood in the defence of our country and let Destiny decide our fate." The King of Linzin replied that all of the enemy were also ready to sacrifice themselves and thought nothing of losing their lives; that the losses already suffered were not small, and that in his opinion success at that stage was impossible, and it would be better to wait till famine and sickness should have worked their ravages among the invaders. Thane-Lôn Yazawut however persisted, and only asked that he be permitted to choose the nobles, officers, and men and animals as he liked. He asked the King to keep himself about two miles behind the forces,

and, if fortune favoured them, to join in the fight, but if otherwise, to retreat. Accordingly Thane-Lôn Yazawut marched ahead with 400 elephants and 70,000 men, followed by King Bra-Sè-Zit at a safe distance with 400 elephants and 10,000 men.

Scouts brought in the information to the King of Ava that Linzin's forces were approaching. He at once ordered a general advance of his five cavalry and thirteen infantry regiments. The opposing forces met, and their respective leaders were engaged in single combat. Unfortunately for Linzin, the elephant on which her commander was mounted proved to be no match for the Burmese general's superior animal, and it turned round and fled. The victor followed up, and when sufficiently close behind, his mahout let fly a spear which struck and killed Linzin's patriot then and there. The elephant which caused this disaster to its master was then secured. True to his word, Thane-Lôn Yazawut very nobly sacrificed his life in the cause of his country and king, but he was unable infuse his patriotism into the rank and file of his forces who took to flight as soon as he had fallen. The King of Ava followed up his success for about two miles but not finding the King of Linzin, returned to camp late in the evening. In addition to the many killed, twelve nobles were made prisoners, and 2000 men and 50 elephants were captured.

After this engagement the Burmese forces remained at Naunghan for about a month practically idling. The King of Linzin played a waiting game and tried to avoid an encounter. When tired of this inaction the Maha Upayaza proposed to return to Maing-San for recess during the rains, and to try and replenish their stores and provisions by cultivating the fields round the town. This proposal was unanimously agreed to and acted upon.

On arrival at Maing-San, the sick and the wounded of the Burmese, Mon, and Shan troops were sent back to Hanthawaddy with an escort of 50 elephants, 1000 horse, and 10,000 men under the charge of Binnya Gyan. When the King of Linzin heard of it he said, "It was not through fear of the Maha Upayaza that I did not fight him, but I was simply waiting to let famine and disease do their work first. Now is our turn to strike the blow." He accordingly sent Binnya Thane with 1000 elephants and 20,000 men to attack the escort on the way. The two forces met in a forest and came to an engagement in which Linzin's forces were again

defeated. Binnya Thane was killed, his lieutenant Binnya Thana was captured together with his elephant. Besides those killed, about 30 elephants and 500 men were captured. The return then continued without further molestation, and by slow marches they arrived at Hanthawaddy in due course.

The Maha Upayaza at first intended to quarter at Maing-San during the approaching rains, but he subsequently changed his mind and consulted his colleagues as to the advisability of returning to Hanthawaddy. All were agreed to get back again, giving as their reason that as long as they were there King Bra-Sè-Zit would not leave his hiding place. Accordingly a letter was sent to King Kyawdin Nawrata, mentioning in detail the engagements they had had, the successes they had obtained, and the prisoners they held, and closing the account of their exploits by saying that after his third defeat the King of Linzin had kept himself in hiding, and although the country had been scoured through and through by the picked troops, the whereabouts of the King could not be traced. At last the expected order of recall came and the whole of the forces left Maing-San on the 5th of waxing Wagaung ¹² Ohula Sakkaraj 927 (A. D. 1565.) and arrived at Hanthawaddy on the 11th of waxing Thadingyut ¹³, taking two lunar months and six days to do the journey. The troops must have suffered greatly on the way as it was then the middle of the rains.

On the very day of arrival, the three queens and the twenty concubines, and the brother and the niece of the King of Linzin, as well as the nobles and other prisoners of war who had been brought away from Maing-San were presented to King Kyawdin Nawrata. The fair captives were ordered to be removed to the women's apartments and there maintained according to their rank. The brother who was then only sixteen years of age was not degraded in any way but allowed to reside in Hanthawaddy in a style befitting his rank; the nobles and other prisoners were given lands and afforded other facilities to settle down in Hanthawaddy.

Thus closed the punitive expedition to Chiangmai resulting in the King of Chiangmai being taken away to Hanthawaddy, and the government left in the hands of the Maha-dewi.

12. August.

13. October.

SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE NARRATIVE
CONTAINED IN THE FOURTH PAPER.

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The conqueror then set out on his return, and determined to punish the King of Zimmè, who had failed to present himself on the arrival of the invading army. But hearing that a rebellion had broken out at Pegu, Bureng Naung hastened back, leaving his son in command. On reaching his capital, he found that many of the fine buildings he had erected had been burnt by the rebels. These were rebuilt, and a new palace, surpassing the former one in magnificence, was commenced, but not finished until three years later. This palace is mentioned by European travellers as composed of an extensive group of grand pavilions "as big as an ordinary city," having the roofs of some apartments covered with plates of solid gold. No doubt the three white elephants brought from Siam were housed in some of these pavilions.

Operation
in Zimme.

November
A. D. 1564.

In the meanwhile, the heir-apparent had not acted with vigour against the King of Zimmè, who had fled eastward, and was sheltered by the King of Lengzeng. Bureng Naung determined to proceed himself to direct operations. He left the capital, and proceeded to Labong, near Zimmè. A large force marched with him, which included many Indians and four hundred Portuguese as gunners. The petty chiefs of the Yun tribe were ready to continue the struggle for independence, but the King of Zimmè voluntarily submitted, saying he did not wish to reign longer. Detachments of troops were sent through the country to put down opposition.

Rebellion
in Pegu.

While the king of kings was thus engaged, a rebellion broke out in Pegu, headed by a Shan captive named Binya Kyan, in which thousands of Talaings joined. They marched on the capital, where the officers in command became panic-stricken. The deposed King of Burma, Narabadi, who was in the city, pointed out that the rebels were a mere unarmed rabble. He was intrusted with a force, at the head of which he issued from the city and defeated the mob of peasants. Bureng Naung on hearing of this outbreak hastened back to his capital. On seeing that many of his fine buildings outside the city walls had been burnt, he was so enraged, that, without entering the city he went on to Dala to hunt down the

remnant of the rebel body. Thousands were taken prisoners, and the King intended to enclose them all in a vast temporary building of bamboo, and burn them and their families alive according to Burmese law. On the intercession of the Buddhist monks he pardoned all except the leaders.

The Yuva Raja after the departure of his father continued operations against the Yun chiefs in the country east of Zimmè. He followed them in pursuit across the Mekong river, and at length the chiefs, or those who still held out, were driven to shut themselves up in the town of Maingzan, by which name the Burmese probably mean a fort near the Laos city Viengchang. The King of Lengzeng was in the stronghold with his family. The place was captured, but the King escaped in the confusion. Bureng Naung ordered the army to return leaving a strong garrison in Zimmè, and the Yuva Raja reached the capital of Pegu in October. The queen of Lengzeng and many prisoners of high rank were brought in.

**Expedition
to Laos.
The Queen
taken
prisoner.**

A. D. 1565.



V.

Introduction.

The fourth paper deals with the account of King Kyawdin Nawrata's punitive expedition to Chiengmai, resulting in the King of Chiengmai being taken away to Hanthawaddy and the government left in the hands of the Maha-dewi. The governor of Zinthane, who also had made a bid for freedom from Burman supremacy, but who had not been active enough like the three others, the governors of Lagun, Turaing, and Nan to get beyond reach of his Burman pursuers, was captured and also taken away to Hanthawaddy. The account ends with a narrative of the operations carried on by the Maha Upayaza against Linzin whither the three rebellious governors had fled for refuge; operations which were a partial failure inasmuch as the King of Linzin and two of the three refugees still remained at large when the forces were recalled to Hanthawaddy.

For about three years after the withdrawal of the Burmese forces from Northern Siam, King Kyawdin Nawrata remained in Hanthawaddy occupying himself in the peaceful pursuits of building a new city, erecting pagodas, salas and other religious edifices, casting huge images of Buddhas and performing charitable works. During this period of rest, the intercourse between Burma and Siam though not interrupted was unimportant; but as the aim of these papers is to give in detail the Burmese version of the relationship, warlike and otherwise, between the two countries, every incident recorded in the Hmannan History having reference to Siam will be recounted here, but those incidents of minor importance will, as a matter of convenience, be relegated to the introductory portion of the main subject.

This paper will treat of King Kyawdin Nawrata's second invasion of Southern Siam and the second fall of Ayuthia. Prior to this invasion, the Hmannan History records certain incidents relating to Siam and references to some personages who figured in her history, which, being of secondary importance, will be given in this introduction. Some of these are important in that they support or corroborate certain statements made by the Burmese historian of which the Siamese history makes no mention at all.

On Monday the 13th. of waxing Tabodwè ¹ Chula Sakkaraj 928 (A. D. 1567) there arrived in Hanthawaddy envoys from Oya Damayaza, governor of Peikthalauk, who presented his daughter Bra Einda-dewi to King Kyawdin Nawrata. On the same day the daughters of the Sawbwas of Theinni and Zinrôn ² were also presented to him.

In the same year the son-in-law of the King of Linzin who was governor of Maing-l'at came to Hanthawaddy with 100 elephants, and 2000 followers, and requested to be enlisted into the service of the Burmese King who, granting the request, administered the oath of allegiance to him; then after conferring rank and honours on him, made grants of land to his followers for them to settle down in Hanthawaddy.

During the latter half of Chula Sakkaraj 929, (A. D. 1567.) the governor of Peikthalauk sent a message to Hanthawaddy saying that the King of Linzin was on his way to attack Peikthalauk. His Burman Majesty ordered the Sawbwas of Mohnyin, Mogaung, Momeik, Onbaung, Nyaunggywe, and Monè to go via Monè and Chiengmai to the assistance of the governor of Peikthalauk, each with a force of 100 elephants, 1000 horse, and 10,000 men. When the Shan troops arrived at Maing-Hane in Chiengmai territory, the King of Linzin became aware of their coming, and wisely abandoning his object, very quickly retreated. On the fact of the retreat being reported to the capital, orders were issued for the troops to return home; but when the six Sawbwas reached Einda-giri the Sawbwas of Mogaung, Momeik, and Mohnyin were summoned to the capital, while the other three were permitted to return direct to their homes. All the six Sawbwas were rewarded for their prompt compliance with the orders from their suzerain.

The new city and the new palace commenced about two years ago having been completed, His Majesty entered the new city in state and assumed possession of the new palace on Monday the 4th of waning Tagu ³ Chula Sakkaraj 929 (A. D. 1568.) The next day a public audience was accorded to the queens, princes, nobles and officials, and sumptuary privileges

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1. February.
 2. Chieng-Rung.
 3. April.

were conferred on them, as was the custom in those days when going into occupation of a newly built city. Sumptuary laws continued to exist in Upper Burma under the Burmese rule down to the reign of the last Burmese King. In the long list of recipients of such privileges were, Narabadi Sithu the deposed king of Ava, Bra Thadiyaza the King of Siam who abdicated the throne, Narabadi the deposed chief of Mobyè, and Bra Than the deposed king of Chiengmai. These four were accorded the privilege of living in double-roofed houses painted white, a privilege granted only to those of royal descent and to persons closely related to the royalty. Here we have an instance of a record of an incident unconnected with the point at issue, lending support or corroboration to the statement made by the Burmese historian that King Bra Thadiyaza of Siam and his second son were taken away to Hanthawaddy, a point on which the Siamese chronicles are entirely silent: this corroboration deserves due consideration, because the presence of His Siamese Majesty in Hanthawaddy is mentioned in the ordinary course of putting on record a number of persons who received privileges at the time, and moreover he is mentioned in conjunction with three other former crowned heads whose enforced residence at Hanthawaddy about that period is beyond dispute.

Soon after the occupation of the new city a scarcity followed owing to the great influx of people to the capital, and the price of grain went up to 500 ticals weight of copper for a basket of paddy (about eight gallons capacity). King Kyawdin Nawrata despatched a column consisting of 100 elephants 1000 horse and 20,000 men to Linzin territory under the command of the King of Pagan with Maha Yawda as his lieutenant, to fetch the needful grain. Why His Burman Majesty should choose Linzin territory, so much out of the way and so far from the area affected by scarcity, when there were countries and states very much nearer home, is hard to understand, unless it was the principle in those days to obtain what was wanted from hostile territory only. However, the Hmannan History records that this column did go on its errand and met with a complete failure. The Burmese were attacked by Linzin's forces, and owing to the bad generalship of their commander, were entirely routed, the second in command being captured and the commander himself compelled to beat a hasty retreat with a mere remnant of his column. On arrival at Hanthawaddy he would have met a far

worse fate than defeat, had it not been for the great influence the holy brotherhood possessed in those days. King Kyawdin Nawrata was so enraged with the conduct of the commander and his men that he confined them in a big temporary enclosure and set fire to it intending to burn them alive. They were however saved by the united action of the Burmese, Mon and Yun priests who put the fire out, released the bonds, and escorted the whole miserable company to the sacred precincts of their monasteries. His Majesty's temper must have cooled down after the bold action taken by the priests, because he forebore taking any further steps to punish them.

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About the beginning of the year 930, (A. D. 1568.) the old King of Siam who had been accorded the privilege of living in Hanthawaddy in a double-roofed house painted white, asked permission of King Kyawdin Nawrata to enter the priesthood. The Burmese Sovereign not suspecting any ulterior motives most willingly granted permission, himself supplying the eight priestly utensils and other articles of use allowed to the members of the holy order. Soon after his admission to the holy brotherhood the old Siamese King requested that he might be allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Yodaya (Ayuthia). His Burman Majesty again gave his ready assent to the request, perhaps still unsuspecting that the priest-king might have other missions than that of simple worship in the sacred shrines of his native land.

Bra Ramathun, the second son of the old King, having been required to follow the punitive expedition to Chiengmai, fell ill and died on the way. His widow also requested after the departure of the old King to be allowed to return to her native country. This request was also granted and she, together with her personal property and attendants, was sent back under the escort of a nobleman named Yazamanu, who, being still on the sunny side of life, soon fell a victim to the charms of the young widow, and they were on terms of intimacy long before the party got fairly started on their homeward journey. Her brother-in-law, the reigning King of Siam having come to know of the nobleman's misconduct sent a written report to the King of Burma, who, enraged at the betrayal of his trust,

ordered the execution of the amorous nobleman who thus paid dearly for his gallantry. The Burmese King then sent instead a much older man, Zala Thinran by name to escort the young widow home.

The old King of Siam who had come to Yodaya ostensibly on a pilgrimage, abandoned his yellow robes soon after his arrival in his capital, and again interested himself in the affairs of the state. He practically assumed the direction of the foreign policy of the kingdom, and in consultation with his son, the reigning King, he ordered the murder of Zala Thinran on the way.

Oya Damayaza, governor of Peikthalauk, watching current events with great keenness and hearing what the King of Siam had done, said, "The King of Siam has adopted a line of action which will be his own undoing and ruin. I should not follow his example but should start immediately for Hanthawaddy and throw in my lot with the King of Burma". Accordingly he arrived in Hanthawaddy on Friday the 2nd. of waning Nayôn * 980 (A. D. 1568). His Majesty of Burma was overjoyed to see his faithful vassal, honoured him with the title of Sawbwa Thaungkyi, and conferred on him the privilege of wearing a coronet and using a white umbrella.

When the old King of Siam heard that Oya Peikthalauk had espoused the Burmese cause and gone to Hanthawaddy, he marched a force to Peikthalauk and brought away his daughter, her attendants and many wealthy people to Yodaya. On hearing of this move on the part of the Siamese King, His Burman Majesty said "The King of Siam did thus rise in open rebellion, throwing off the allegiance he had sworn and proving himself ungrateful, because the time is fast approaching for Sawbwa Thaungkyi to be raised to the throne of Yodaya". He then summoned his son the Maha Upayaza and the nobles and consulted them what they thought of an immediate march to Yodaya. Binnya Dala expressed the opinion that in thus taking this bold move Siam did not depend merely on her own strength. The action of the reigning King was influenced by the advice of his father who no doubt expected the co-operation of Linzin and Lawaik. In the circumstances it would be best to march with all the tributary kings and all the forces available, so that in case of need the army could be divided and

separate operations taken against the different enemies or armies coming to Siam's rescue. Another nobleman Oktama Thirizeya Thura (Uttama Sirijeya Sūra) concurred with Binnya Dala's opinion, but suggested that the invasion should be postponed till the rains, which had just begun to set in, were over, pointing out that immediate action was unnecessary, and, from experience gained in the previous invasions, they could very well gauge now their own fighting strength and ability as well as the war footing and capacity of their enemies, the people of Yodaya, Linzin and Lawaik. He said the only thing necessary for them to do then was to hold Peikthalauk with a strong force and prevent its capture till after the rains; and for that purpose Sawbwa Thaungkyi and a few regiments from the capital would be sufficient.

King Kyawdin Nawrata guided by this latter advice ordered Sawbwa Thaungkyi, Binnya Gyandaw, Binnya Law, and Binnya Paran to march post-haste to Peikthalauk, each in command of a regiment. The forces thus sent in advance to hold Peikthalauk consisted of 300 elephants, 34,000 horse, and 60,000 men and left Hanthawaddy on the 5th of waxing Wazo ⁵ 930 (A. D. 1568). On arrival, they repaired the defences of the city and gathered in all the grain and provisions available in the country surrounding.

Hearing that the governor of Peikthalauk was making the defences strong, the King of Siam sent a message to the King of Linzin to come down and assist him in reducing Peikthalauk. The latter responded to the call for assistance and came with an army; the former proceeded up the river with 500 war boats and about 30,000 transport vessels. A report of the coming of the two armies was sent to Hanthawaddy by the governor of Peikthalauk and the three Binnyas, and His Burman Majesty sent a reply that they were to try and capture the two Kings, and that he himself would start as soon as the rains ceased.

When the Siamese flotilla reached Kamanpaik, ⁶ there arrived at that place the governor of Lagun Thima ⁷ with a force of

5. July.

6. The Burmese historian must have made a mistake because Kamanpaik, the Burmese for Kamphengphet, is out of the line of march by water; it is probable that Phichit is the place meant.

7. Nakon Rajasima or Korat.

100 elephants, and 3,000 men. The whole army, including the auxiliaries from Lagun Thima, then continued their advance upwards, and on their arrival at Peikthalauk encamped quite close to the town. Sawbwa Thaugkyi and the three Binnyas organized a sortie, sending out a force of 80 elephants and 20,000 men under the command of Sundarathi nephew of Binnya Gyandaw, and Thaman-darat younger brother of Binnya Paran, to attack the forces under Lagun Thima. This sortie proved a great success, the governor of Lagun Thima being killed together with 3,200 men; the remainder fled to join the boats and were hotly pursued by Sundarathi and Thaman-darat. When the pursuers reached the river, they were shelled from the Siamese war boats and suffered many casualties. They therefore returned with 30 elephants and about 500 men they had been able to capture.

About five days after this sortie the King of Linzin arrived with his army and encamped so near the town that his camp extended to the very edge of the moat surrounding the city. The governor and the three Binnyas again organised a sortie with a force of 200 elephants and 20,000 men, and Linzin's forces were compelled to withdraw, and their camp was burnt. When the Siamese learnt that their friends on land had been obliged to withdraw they also removed their boats to a distance of about a mile from the town.

Three days after, the two Kings took concerted action and made a joint attack. They had logs cut in the upper reaches of the river, and a raft about 300 fathoms long was made. On it they put a quantity of dried wood and other inflammable material, and just about dawn they set fire to the material, and sent the flaming raft adrift from above the town. At the same time a combined attack both by land and water was made, the King of Siam with over 200 war boats and 50,000 men and the King of Linzin with the greater part of his army. The governor and Binnya Gyandaw went out with a force of 100 elephants and 30,000 men and fought Linzin's forces who were compelled to retire, leaving in addition to those killed in the fight, 70 elephants and 300 men as prisoners in the hands of the defenders. About 1,000 picked men, who were commissioned to put out the fire on the raft and kill the men in charge of it, also did their work well. The attack from the Siamese boats was repulsed by Binnya Law and Binnya Paran who shelled the

enemy's boats from the town, sinking some and disabling many. The remaining boats withdrew, but the two Binnyas could not follow up their success as they had no boats. Thus the combined attack of the besieging forces proved a complete failure.

After this defeat of the besiegers, a challenge was shouted out from their camp calling on Binnya Gyandaw to meet Linzin's general Binnya Lagun in single combat. Binnya Gyandaw ordered a reply to be shouted back that he would fight anyone. Sawbwa Thaungkyi and the other two Binnyas did not approve of the single combat, saying they could not know what deceitful plans or stratagems the enemy might have; so they had a reply shouted again to the enemy's camp saying that Binnya Gyandaw was the servant of a most powerful sovereign who held many crowned kings under his sway, while Binnya Lagun was the servant of the King of Linzin, only a petty monarch, and under such conditions it would be derogatory to the dignity of Binnya Gyandaw to fight Binnya Lagun in single combat, but he would be glad to face the King of Linzin himself. Nothing however resulted from this mutual challenge. The besiegers withdrew to some distance from the city and remained surrounding it during the whole of the rainy season from the month of Wagaung⁸ to Tazaungmôn.⁹

King Kyawdin Nawrata had previously issued orders for the mobilization of the invading army to be completed by the end of the rains, and consequently in the month of Thadingyut¹⁰ everything was ready for the march to Yodaya. The Hmannan History gives full details of the army, mentioning the names of the brigade commander and the second in command of each brigade, and of the commanders of each division of which there were five. The first division under the Maha Upayaza was composed of 11 brigades, each brigade containing 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men; the Shan contingents in this division formed two brigades, one commanded by the Sawbwa of Mogaung and the other by the Sawbwa of Momeik: the second division was under the King of Prome and composed of the same number of brigades and the same number of units, the Shan levies forming also two brigades under the Sawbwas

8. August.

9. November.

10. October.

of Mohnyin and Bamaw: the third division was commanded by the King of Toungoo and the fourth by the King of Ava, the strength of each being the same as that of the first division; the Shan levies in the former were two brigades commanded by the Sawbwas of Thibaw and Theinni, and in the latter three brigades under the Sawbwas of Onbaung, Nyaunggywe, and Monè. The fifth division was under his nephew Min-yè Kyawdin and composed of five brigades, each containing 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men, but four of these were foreign contingents commanded by Binnya Thane Lôn, Binnya Than Lau and Binnya Nan of Chiengmai, and the Sawbwa of Kyaing-Tôn." In all probability this division formed a complement of the body-guard division which contained 400 elephants 4,000 horse and 56,000 men distributed equally on the right and left and in the front and rear of His Majesty, and the forces composing it did not start from Hanthawaddy but joined it at convenient places after the invading army had entered Siam. The body-guard division also contained 4,000 Kala Brin-gyi (Portuguese?) gunners and 4,000 Kala Pathi (Mohammedan Indian) musketeers. This big army left Hanthawaddy on Sunday the 6th of waning Thadingyut Chula Sakkaraj 930 (A. D. 1568). After 47 marches it reached a place called Indaw (Royal Lake) to the north of Yodaya.

The King of Siam hearing of the invasion and the strength of the invaders dared not intercept the enemy in open country, and therefore decided to withstand the siege. He withdrew to his capital, repaired all the defences round the city, mounted heavy artillery on the ramparts, and took in all available fighting men and provisions into it.

At the summons of the invader Sawbwa Thaungkyi of Peikthalauk and the three Binnyas came down from Peikthalauk with a force of 300 elephants, 4,000 horse and 60,000 men, and on arrival presented their Sovereign with what trophies of war they had been able to secure during the time they had been holding Peikthalauk against the combined forces of Yodaya and Linzin. His Majesty was greatly pleased with the conduct and services of Sawbwa Thaungkyi and Binnya Gyandaw and rewarded them

handsomely; but he was very much dissatisfied with Binnya Law and Binnya Paran for the reason that when the King of Siam attacked Peikthalauk they remained only on the defensive in the city, and that if they had gone out and followed up their success then, the Siamese Sovereign would not have escaped. Binnya Law and Binnya Paran were therefore deprived of their command, and their honours, titles, and attendants were also withdrawn.

King Kyawdin Nawrata sent Sundarathi and Thamandarath two promising young noblemen who distinguished themselves in the first sortie in the defence of Peikthalauk to return to Peikthalauk and bring down all the war boats. They performed their commission most expeditiously bringing down also a lot of provisions and all the boats sent down from Cheingmai in which they brought their sick and wounded. For their services they were rewarded with new titles and honours.

The invader then called a council of war and requested the Maha Upayaza and the other commanders to suggest the best means of taking Yodaya. The Maha Upayaza suggested to make a vigorous assault and reduce the capital at a single effort, giving as his reason that assault on the city was extremely difficult owing to its being surrounded by water, so that it would be best to make one supreme effort rather than a series of assaults; and also that a siege would not be advisable as it would be a matter of great difficulty to maintain an army of nearly a million men during a protracted siege. King Kyawdin Nawrata entertained a different opinion saying that a siege would be better; as regards provisioning he said he would send for all available grain and provisions in Kamanpaik, Thuwannalauk, Thaukkatè and Pitsè and store them in big granaries. During the rains, field crops would be raised for the support of the army. There was of course no gainsaying to His Majesty's opinion and the whole army was accordingly ordered to invest the city. For the purpose of erecting wooden stockades and forts, logs of about 3 or 4 'zòk'¹² and 15 or 16 'taung'¹³ were obtained in the forests above Yodaya and brought down the river. On the east and south sides of the city the river was narrow and the stockades were built on the bank of the river opposite the city,

12. The Burmese word for the Siamese "kam."

13. The Burmese word for the Siamese "sok."

while on the west side, the river being wide, the stockades were erected, after crossing the river, on the bank nearest the city. When the stockades and forts were ready, guns were mounted on them and the town was bombarded causing great damage to the buildings in the city. Several attempts were made to storm the city and scale the walls, but owing to the effective service of the defender's artillery such attempts always proved a failure with heavy losses at each assault.

Finding his attempts fruitless, King Kyawdin Nawrata devised another plan. He caused earth-works to be thrown up equalling in height to the city of Yodaya, to get a commanding position and a vantage-ground. Then mounting his big artillery on them he bombarded the city incessantly, but still to no avail, owing to the strong nature of the defences and the vigilance of the defenders.

His Burman Majesty was fast losing his patience; and one day he reproached all his generals and commanders saying that the repeated failure to take the city was due to their want of energy and self-sacrificing devotion to the attainment of his object, and impressed on them that any remissness in or failure of duty would not be forgiven and the offender would receive, irrespective of rank, more than the full measure of his desert which in those days meant nothing short of decapitation. Exhortation of such a nature could not but make a man exert his utmost. The commanders and their men redoubled their energy in their onslaught on the city but the only result of their renewed vigour appeared to be an increase in their losses by two or three-fold. At each assault on the city, every brigade that took part in it lost at least 300 or 400 men and the Burmese historian says that sometimes the losses were so great that the storming forces used the dead bodies of their comrades as shelter from the fire of the defenders.

The brigade under Binnya Set, commander, and Saw Taing Kan, second in command, was encamped on the very edge of the river. Owing to the short distance of the camp from the city, the Siamese discovered that it was insecurely pitched. A small party of Siamese came out in four or five boats, and finding a

few huts unoccupied and unguarded owing to the men having gone out to collect firewood and vegetables, they secured the firearms kept in a boat moored to the bank and set fire to the huts. Some of the men from the King of Prome's camp seeing what had occurred went at once and drove the Siamese party back, who, however, were able to take away the arms they had secured. What had happened was reported to King Kyawdin Nawrata who personally inspected the scene of the occurrence. The commander and his lieutenant knowing full well what they would have to expect, tried to run away. His Burman Majesty finding no one on whom to vent his anger and wreak his vengeance ordered the execution of the King of Prome under whose supervision the camp in question was. But fortunately for the King of Prome, before the order could be carried out, his adherents were able to capture the runaway commanders who were immediately beheaded, none daring to intercede on their behalf. After this exemplary punishment everyone, from the highest general down to the meanest soldier was in greater terror of decapitation at the hands of his Sovereign's executioners than death from the weapons of the enemy. They all fought harder than ever, facing their foes with unprecedented courage, but the defenders must also have been imbued with feelings of self-sacrificing patriotism to enable them to repel successfully attack after attack of uncommon ferocity.

Some four months passed by without any alteration in the positions of the besiegers and the besieged. Redoubled energy on the part of the besiegers only moved the besieged to greater effort and vigilance. Both sides had suffered heavy losses but the issue of the struggle still remained undecided. At this juncture a truly disastrous event for Siam happened; the old King of Siam who had most probably been the life and spirit of the courageous defence died on Friday the 2nd of waxing Kason¹⁴ Chula Sakkaraj 931 (A. D. 1569). The Burmese chronicler of the time did not pass this event without comment but said that the death was the result of his breach of the oath of allegiance. There was no time then to perform the usual obsequies, which were therefore kept in abeyance, and the body was embalmed (lit: stuffed with mercury).

14. May.

After the death of the of the old King, Bra Mahein the reigning King of Siam called his ministers and nobles and said to them thus, "The King of Burma has laid siege to our city for many months; our arms have done countless execution in his army but still his endeavours to take the city seem in no way to abate. The erection of mounds of earth is assiduously continued despite the destruction caused by our shot and shell among those engaged in the work. Nay, the bodies of the dead are used even as stepping stones to carry the earth to the top of the mound. His anger must be very great, his determination must be very firm to continue the siege in such adverse and trying circumstances. It is not very long since that we ascended the throne, and there may be some who love not our person and who like not our rule. Therefore it is impolitic to continue the struggle with a foreign foe fully determined to fight to his utmost, while we are not sure of security from enemies at home. It is best to appease His Burman Majesty's anger and let him betake himself and his army to his country, when we shall have more time to attend to our own affairs". He then consulted the royal family and sent a written message to the following effect:—That His Siamese Majesty had always adhered to his oath of allegiance, but that one of his nobles Oya Ram was entirely responsible for this state of affairs. It was Oya Ram who induced the deceased King when residing as a Buddhist priest in Hanthawaddy to come over to Siam, to leave the priesthood and again assume the reins of government. It was Oya Ram who guaranteed to see that everything turned out well, and in case of invasion to undertake the whole burden of defending the city. Now that the old King had paid the penalty of his breach of faith, His Siamese Majesty had no desire to continue the fight and would therefore beg to reign as a tributary king paying the usual tribute. He desired His Burman Majesty to raise the siege and return to Burma. With the message was sent Oya Ram in heavy chains. On receipt of the message King Kyawdin Nawrata said nothing, but with a knowledge of human nature with which he was endowed to a large measure, he ordered the release of Oya Ram and told him that he would be treated in all respects like one of his own nobles, expecting by this kind treatment to win the Siamese nobleman's good will, confidence and gratitude which he hoped some time later to turn to good account and use them to his advantage.

The King of Linzin whose assistance had been applied for by His Siamese Majesty came with a force of 1,000 elephants, 8,000 horse and 30,000 men. News of the coming of this auxiliary force was brought in by scouts sent out to reconnoitre. His Burman Majesty despatched a force of 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 40,000 men under the command of the governor of Ye with the governor of Wagaru as second in command to reconnoitre and find out the strength of the force from Linzin. They were ordered to proceed only as far as a place called Nalabo.¹⁵ This force on reaching Nalabo encamped, and being some distance away from the place where they had been kept under very strict discipline for many months, a reaction set in, and both officers and men took their mission more as a holiday than as a serious task imposed upon them. Apparently no precautions were taken to guard against sudden attack; and when five days after their arrival, the King of Linzin and his army appeared on the scene and surprised them, they were entirely defeated, the whole force together with the commander being taken prisoners. The second in command however managed to escape on horseback with only about ten of his personal attendants. On reaching the main army he was publicly disgraced for running away from the enemy and ordered to be executed together with his wife and children. He pleaded disparity of numbers between the two forces, pointing out that if the proportions had been ten to one it would have been commendable bravery and noble sacrifice of life to fight and die, but when the proportions were a thousand to one it was simply reprehensible desperation and reckless throwing away of valuable life which might be put to far nobler use. His Majesty was obdurate at first, intending to make an example of what he regarded to be a disgraceful instance of cowardice; but subsequently on the intercession of Thirizeya Kyawdin, Binnya Dala, and Binnya Gyandaw he gave way and pardoned the offender.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then asked his generals whether it would be advisable to raise the siege and fight the King of Linzin with the whole army or to withdraw only a portion from the investing army and operate against Siam's ally. Binnya Dala, the trusty counsellor, said that the city had been closely invested for the last four or five months and death had overtaken

the old King of Siam as a consequence of his breach of oath; naturally the besieged must have lost somewhat of their former spirit and enthusiasm, and if such should be the case it would be extremely unwise to raise the siege, because to return and reinvest the city after quelling Linzin's forces would mean throwing away the arduous labour of four or five months that had cost a great many lives, and starting operations afresh. He was of opinion that half the investing army would be sufficient to frighten the King of Linzin not to come face to face, but he would keep himself at a distance harassing foraging parties. To prevent this harassing, his idea was to resort to stratagem by sending Oya Ram to the King of Linzin with a forged message purporting to be from the King of Siam appealing for an immediate march to the capital; and when the unsuspecting King drew near, to surround and surprise him. King Kyawdin Nawrata liked the idea, and having summoned Oya Ram into his presence, told the Siamese nobleman that if he served well, he would be most handsomely rewarded. Oya Ram was profuse in the expression of his gratitude for sparing his life when his own King had given it away as a peace-offering. He even went so far as to say that such a debt of gratitude as he owed His Burman Majesty could not be adequately repaid by services rendered in all his future existences until the attainment of Nirvana. (Such exaggerated and extravagant expressions are not uncommon in Burmese literature). He promised his new master that he would serve most loyally, faithfully and to the best of his ability, sacrificing his life if necessary. Then the letter to be conveyed to the King of Linzin was drafted jointly by Binnya Dala and Oya Ram. The substance of the letter was that the city had been invested by the King of Burma for four or five months; and although a very large number of his forces had died of disease and from the shot and shell of the defenders, he did not, in the least, relax his energies. The defenders dared not go out of the city and attack the besiegers, because the long expected assistance from Linzin had not arrived. The Linzin auxiliary was requested to march on as quickly as possible to the city so that a joint attack could be made, when the defeat of the Burmese would be certain. It may be mentioned here that the King of Linzin was addressed as "uncle" in the letter, not because he stood in that relationship

to the King of Siam, but because it was, and still is the etiquette of the Burmese and the Siamese and of almost all oriental peoples to address a man not simply by name but to prefix terms denoting brother, uncle, grandfather, etc., according to the relative ages of the person speaking and the person spoken to.

Oya Ram went on his errand, and on meeting the King of Linzin presented his letter. He was asked a few questions relating to some internal affairs of the city to test the authenticity of the message; these being satisfactorily answered, a matter of no difficulty to one in Oya Ram's position, the King of Linzin was entirely disabused of any suspicions he might have had before, and he sent Oya Ram back, fixing the date on which he would arrive at the city.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then made arrangements to attack Linzin's forces on the way. He withdrew the following brigades and commanders, namely, seven brigades containing 100 elephants, 1,000 horse and 50,000 men under the command of the Maha Upayaza who was placed in the centre; the King of Toungoo with a like force was on the left and the King of Ava with a force similar to the other two on the right. He himself formed the rear, also with seven brigades of the same strength and formation. The King of Prome was left in charge of the besieging forces with supreme authority and control.

The forces withdrawn to operate against Linzin started on their mission on Friday the 9th. of waxing Kasôn ¹⁶ 931 (A.D. 1569), and after marching about fourteen miles encamped for the night. The next morning the King of Linzin started from Nalabo on his march to Yodaya, and in the course of the day, his advance force met the 3,000 horse sent out by the Burmese to reconnoitre the route ahead. From this it appears that the place called Nalabo would be about two days' easy march from Ayuthia. After a slight skirmish the Burmese cavalry retreated and informed their respective columns of the approach of Linzin's forces. The three commanders at once issued orders to be prepared for the attack. Finding there was a curve in the road, the King of Ava disposed of his forces in such a position as to take full advantage of the curve,

and withheld his attack until Linzin's forces had gone round it. Before long, the two opposing armies were engaged in fight. The King of Linzin had with him 1,000 war elephants 100 transport elephants 8,000 horse and 30,000 men and advanced, probably in single column, showing a bold front. He seemed to gain ground and gradually moved onward until he went past the curve, when the King of Ava opened his attack. The result of the King of Ava's manoeuvre was that Linzin's forces were divided into two portions, after which one portion was vigorously attacked by the King of Ava himself and the other by the other two commanders. This skilful manoeuvre and the subsequent vigorous attack on the divided forces, already crippled by the division, caused their utter discomfiture, and they were put to a disorderly rout, the King of Linzin fleeing with a force of about 20,000 men which he managed to withdraw in the confusion and disorder that ensued. The date of this battle is given as Friday the 8th.¹⁷ of waxing Kasôn 931 (A. D. 1569.).

King Kyawdin Nawrata who was in the rear heard the report of guns, and believing that a battle must be going on, ordered a quick march taking a short straight cut to the curve in the road. He then came upon the King of Linzin in full flight, and pursued the flying forces until he was within a distance of about ten miles from them, when they made their way into a bamboo jungle. The King of Linzin thinking escape impossible, ordered a halt and sent a message of submission to the pursuers. In the message he said that when the Burmese King invaded Chiengmai, the Maha Upayaza and the King of Ava marched into Linzin territory and caused great destruction of person and property; at that time he was not in his country having left to go and receive the daughter of the King of Siam. Subsequently when the same two commanders overran his territory, the destructive effects left then were such that the country was still

17. Here the Burmese historian is evidently in error; because he says that the Burmese forces left Ayuthia on Friday the 9th of waxing Kasôn 931 and the battle was fought the next day. So that either the day of starting must be Friday the 8th and the day of battle Saturday the 9th, or the former day was Friday the 9th and the latter Saturday the 10th. Friday the 9th is probably correct; at least it is in accord with the date given for the death of the old King of Siam, which is Friday the 2nd of waxing Kasôn 931 (A. D. 1569), *i. e.* a week previous,

unable to recover from them. At the request of the King of Siam who had sent a written message appealing for assistance he had come, but only to be defeated by His Burman Majesty who must have been aided by powers supernatural, considering that the fireworks that had been prepared by him which were to have been discharged by specially devised machinery and which would have destroyed an army over a million strong, had been all rendered useless by a heavy shower of rain the day previous to the battle. He concluded the message by begging his pursuer not to follow him into his country, promising that he would never thereafter offend His Burman Majesty, and saying that with the intention of taking the oath of allegiance he had halted in his flight, and would appear before his suzerain to take the oath early the next morning, as there was no time that evening to present himself for that purpose.

King Kyawdin Nawrata believed that the King of Linzin really meant what he said in his message, and therefore encamped, as it was getting dark also. Linzin's chief knowing that his pursuer had halted, took advantage of the halt and fled with all haste the whole night. The next morning seeing only crows in Linzin's camp His Burman Majesty gave a hearty laugh and said that he would march to Linzin after the capture of Yodaya. He then returned to the siege taking with him one of the concubines of the King of Linzin, Manuraw Meikta (Manuro Mittā) and about ten of her attendants who had been captured in the pursuit. On arrival, those who had taken part in the fight against Linzin's forces presented him with prisoners taken in the battle consisting of about ten noblemen and 5,000 men, and with also about 300 elephants captured. Of the Burmese forces that had been surprised and taken prisoners by the King of Linzin at Nalabo, a great many escaped from their captors and rejoined their army.

On enquiring who it was that had caused the rout of Linzin's forces, each of the three commanders claimed the honour, but on the evidence of the prisoners it was decided that the honours of the day belonged to the King of Ava who was accordingly very liberally rewarded; others who had distinguished themselves were also suitably rewarded.

After this, the siege was taken in hand with renewed vigour, and with orders more stringent than before for everyone to do his

utmost. During one of the assaults on the city, the officers in the brigade of which Baya Kamani, governor of Thanlyin (Syriam), was the commander, were urging on, with drawn swords, their men who were hesitating to approach the walls of the city. Baya Kamani, probably thinking that the officers were unduly severe on their men, chased the officers with a naked sword in hand. The officers reported their commander's conduct to their Sovereign who ordered the King of Prome to make enquiries and report. The King of Prome dared not conceal the facts from his Suzerain, but to soothe His Burman Majesty's temper and obtain some mitigation in the punishment sure to be meted out to Baya Kamani, told His Majesty that Baya Kamani had the peculiar habit of pointing his sword even against his superiors, the divisional commanders, presuming on the love and indulgence of His Majesty whose oldest and most devoted servant he had been, having shared His Majesty's fortunes good and bad, since the days when His Majesty was fighting for sovereign authority and the throne of Hanthawaddy. The King of Prome prayed forgiveness for an offence committed by a faithful and devoted servant whose main fault had been that he had presumed too much on his master's indulgence. His Burman Majesty would not yield and said that he could forgive other offences in Baya Kamani but not breaches of military discipline, and that if the King of Prome took so much pity on Baya Kamani, he ought to sacrifice his own life instead of the offender. After this none dared breathe a word on behalf of the unfortunate Baya Kamani, and he was ordered to be executed, the execution being carried out in the camp of the King of Prome himself. After this bloody deed of expiation was over, Baya Kamani's son approached his father's corpse and wept. The irate King hearing of it, ruthlessly ordered the execution of the son who paid dearly for the filial tears which he could not possibly have withheld even if he had tried to. Then the slave of Baya Kamani seeing the corpses of his two masters, father and son, lying side by side not only unhonoured and unmourned but even without a covering of some kind to shield them from the gaze of the public, came forward and spread a piece of cloth over them. The enraged Monarch coming to know of the slave's action which exasperated him the more, at once ordered the death of the slave who thus paid very dearly indeed for rendering the last services due from a slave to his master. From this little episode a good estimate of

King Kyawdin Nawrata's character can be obtained, and one can see that he thought very little of the life of a favourite servant compared with the attainment of his object, and could without any feeling or sentiment order away the execution of one who had served him faithfully and well, and whom he certainly loved; one can also see that when his temper was roused, he was insensible to the noble and tender emotions that move a man to pity and forgiveness. The sight of a son bewailing the death of his father, and a faithful slave paying the last respects to his deceased master would, in an ordinary man even in bad temper, have softened his heart and moved him to sympathy and compassion, but in King Kyawdin Nawrata it only had the effect of inflaming his anger which had been kindled and which had as yet no time to cool down.

After this triple execution there was not a single soul in the whole army who was not terror-stricken, for the three corpses remained exposed to public gaze for some time, so that everybody could view them and contemplate what their own fate would be if they failed in their duty even in the slightest degree. The men were driven to perform their tasks with a total disregard of death; they did not leave their posts in the earth-works near the city in spite of the devilly fire directed against them by the defenders; to say that they dared not leave would perhaps be nearer the truth. Moreover, they must have preferred an honourable death by the enemy's bullet to a dishonourable one by the executioner's knife.

King Kyawdin Nawrata had lost over 10,000 men in the siege, but the city still remained as impregnable as at the beginning, and the defenders almost as indomitable as at the first start. He therefore thought of resorting to stratagem to attain his end, since all attempts to accomplish it by mere force of arms had proved unavailing. His plan was to send the Siamese nobleman Aukbya Setki into the city and ask him to open its gates at an appointed time. This Aukbya Setki was the nobleman who had been taken away to Hanthawaddy together with King Bra Thadiyaza and his son Bra Ramathun. Having offended His Burman Majesty he had been kept in chains for about four or five months during the siege. The invader weighed the matter well, saying that if Aukbya Setki proved faithful to him and his

cause there could be not doubt about the fall of the capital. but if otherwise, the only loss he would suffer would be the person of the Siamese nobleman ; and coming to the conclusion that the advantages derivable in the event of his plan turning out as he desired and hoped, far outweigh the disadvantages likely to ensue in case the plan proved a failure, he ordered Aukbya Setki to be released from confinement and brought into his presence. His Burman Majesty disclosed the plan to the Siamese nobleman and requested him to assist in the execution of it to the best of his ability, promising him the governorship of Peikthalauk with vice-regal rank, if success attended the venture. Aukbya Setki undertook to be faithful to the Burmese cause and do his utmost ; he was then given the oath of allegiance and sent on his mission under cover of darkness in a small boat paddled by only two of his slaves, himself in heavy chains, so as to make it appear to Fis Siamese Majesty that he had escaped from the custody of the Burmese to rejoin his King and master in the defence of his fatherland and to return to his hearth and home.

Unfortunately for Siam the only man who could have saved her capital from a disgraceful fall proved himself so unpatriotic as to betray his King and country and hand them over to their enemy. The King of Siam greeted his father's trusted nobleman as he would his own deceased father, little suspecting that in the wake of this noble traitor whom he was welcoming most joyfully, would soon follow most undesirable guests whom he would have to welcome with feelings just the very reverse of joyful ; he gave his real enemy the entire control of the city, thereby strengthening the hand that was to strike the death-blow to Siam's independence.

Aukbya Setki very soon found means for accomplishing his mission. He stationed patriotic and self-sacrificing commanders at places where access was difficult, and kept his own relatives, who had probably been taken into his confidence, at weak points where entry was easy. When his plans had matured and his arrangements had been completed, he sent a slave at night with a message to King Kyawdin Nawrata giving details of the arrangements, and fixing a night when the attack was to be made. His Burman Majesty was very pleased, and on the night appointed, that part of the city mentioned in the message was assaulted ; the defence, of course, was feeble and

the Burmese forces entered the city, and very soon overpowered the other defenders who were not in the plot, probably being taken unexpectedly and unawares. Thus on Tuesday the 4th. of waning Wagaung ¹⁸ Chula Sakkaraj 931 (A. D. 1569.) did the capital of Siam fall into the hands of the Burmese a second time, through the treachery of one of her own sons whom fortune placed in high position and rank, but who turned his good fortune to the ignoble end of betraying his own country.

The city was given up to plunder and the Burmese historian was particular enough to record that there was not a single one in the whole of the fifty four brigades who did not obtain one or two coolie loads of loot in the form of gold, silver, wearing apparel etc. Entertainments were held in every brigade for many days, in celebration of the success achieved and in jubilation of the end of their trials.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then administered the oath of allegiance to Bra Mahein and all his ministers and nobles. Such of the Siamese ministers, nobles and officials whose loyalty and fidelity were above suspicion were permitted to continue to hold their offices and appointments, but those who could not be trusted were removed and new men appointed. It was in the early half of the rains that the city was captured; and during the whole of the rains, His Burman Majesty remained in the Siamese capital settling internal affairs and organizing the future administration of the country. The governors of the towns round about the capital came in with presents and formally acknowledged his authority, taking the oath of allegiance. The Burmese historian records that the river rose very high then, and the country round Yodaya was like a vast sea. If that was true Aukbya Setki's treachery was all the more deplorable, because the Burmese army would have been compelled to raise the siege and put to great difficulties and inconvenience, for there never was a king born yet who could command the rising waters to subside.

During this period, the King of Lawaik sent a nobleman with presents to King Kyawdin Nawrata and besought His Burman Majesty's assistance in furtherance of works for the support of

Buddhism. The Burmese King made a donation of thirty viss¹⁹ of silver tical pieces (equal to 3000 ticals) for the repairs of old ruined pagodas and phra-chedis in Lagun Lôn.²⁰

On Wednesday the 5th. of waning Thadingyut Chula Sakkaraj 931, (A. D. 1569.) Sawbwa Thaungkyi (*i. e.* Oya Damayaza, governor of Peikthalauk) was formally crowned and installed as King of Yodaya. His Burman Majesty then entrusted the newly crowned King with one hundred ticals of silver and thirteen viss of gold to be devoted to repairing old pagodas and sacred shrines. He also requested the new King to perform the customary obsequies to the body of the deceased King Bra Thadiyaza which had been kept embalmed.

The Burmese history makes no mention of the fate of Bra Mahein the deposed King; Sir Arthur Phayre suggests that either the unfortunate King was put to death or he committed suicide.

On Friday the 6th. of waxing Tazaungmôn 931 (A. D. 1569, that is sixteen days after the coronation of Oya Damayaza, King Kyawdin Nawrata left Yodaya for Peikthalauk on his way to Linzin, and his adventures or rather misadventures in Linzin territory, for his army was decimated by starvation and disease, will form the subject of the next paper.



19. A viss is equal to 3.65 lbs. Avoirdupois. The Burmese word "Peiktha" is generally used in the sense of catty, but it is always 100 ticals and not 80 ticals as in Siam.

20. Nakon Luang; probably Nakon Wat.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE
NARRATIVE CONTAINED IN THE FIFTH PAPER.

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For three years there was a pause in the wars and commotions which had so long disturbed and devastated the country. The king of Lengzeng still gave trouble to the Burmese officers in the territory of Zimmè, but his son-in-law came in and made his submission. Everything looked promising; the capital of Pegu was a scene of splendour exceeding all known in its past history; and trading ships from Europe, from India, and from Malacca, freely entered the sea ports. With continued peace the country might soon have recovered the terrible loss of population, and decrease of agriculture, which the incessant wars in distant countries, rendered lasting peace impossible. An indulgence granted, it may be, from a generous feeling towards a fallen enemy, hastened the catastrophe, which probably it was hoped might, by showing confidence, be averted. The deposed king of Siam had become a Rahan, and was permitted to go to his own country to worship. His son, who had been his companion in captivity, died, and his widow was allowed to return home with her children. Bramahin, the tributary king, when there were no hostages for his loyalty, soon began to take measures for asserting his independence. In this he was supported by his father, who abandoned his monk's habit, and secretly influenced events with authority, if he did not openly assume it. Bureng Naung at once made preparations for another invasion of Siam. The brother-in-law of the tributary king, who was governor of Pitsalauk, a stronghold on a branch of the Upper Menam, refused to support the revolt, and held his post for the king of kings. Bureng Naung collected a vast army, which, including followers, may have numbered two hundred thousand men, and marching from Martaban, relieved the fort of Pitsalauk, which had been besieged by the Siamese. He then moved down to attack the capital, after having made arrangements to hold the country of the Upper Menam. The Siamese were determined to make a desperate defence, and the invader could only hope to reduce the city by famine. After four months no effect had been produced, but the old king died. Bramahin made offers of surrender, which, with unusual candour,

Second
Invasion of
Siam,
October,
A. D. 1568.

were not accepted, though the Burmese army had suffered immense loss. The king of Lengzeng approached to relieve the city. Bureng Naung, leaving his most trusted officer, Binya Dala, in command, proceeded himself with half his force to meet the king of Laos, who was defeated. The invader then returned to renew the siege. Affairs had become very serious, and he had recourse to stratagem. One of his Siamese adherents, a noble of high rank, pretending to desert, entered the city with irons on his legs. He was received with joy by Bramahin, and appointed to a high command. Through his treacherous machinations one of the city gates was opened, and the besiegers entered in the night, after a siege of seven months. The city was given up to plunder. The unfortunate Bramahin was made prisoner, and either was put to death or committed suicide. The king of kings remained in Yuthia for two months, and appointed Thaungkyi, a member of the Zimmè royal family, tributary King.

August,
A. D. 1569.
Capital
taken.

1. In the history of Siam the prominent events of this invasion and siege coincide with the account given in the Burmese history; but the date assigned for the capture of the city is 1555. The Venetian traveller Cæsar Fredericke, who was in Pegu and the neighbouring countries apparently from 1567 to 1569, places the "coming home of the king" from this war in 1569. By the Burmese history he arrived home in 1570. See Bowring's Siam, vol. I. p. 51.

VI.

Introduction.

It was with the deposition of King Bra Mahein and the raising of Oya Damayaza, governor of Peikthalaik, to the throne of Yodaya by King Kyawdin Nawrata that the last preceding paper ended. Aukbya Setki to whose treachery the fall of Yodaya was mainly attributable, was, as promised, offered the governorship of Peikthalaik with the rank and insignia of Thenabadi (Senāpati), an offer which he declined to accept, requesting that he might be permitted to serve the Burmese King with residence at Hanthawaddy. In compliance with the wishes of the Siamese nobleman, His Burman Majesty conferred on him the title of Binnya and made him governor of Dagôn. As a further mark of royal favour, he was permitted to succeed to the property and possessions, as well as the retainers of the unfortunate Binnya Set who, in company with his lieutenant Saw Taing Kan, had been executed for having been so neglectful of his duties during the siege of Yodaya as to have made it possible for the Siamese to seize a few firearms and burn a few huts in his camp. In Burma, of old days, the giving of one man's property to another, a perfect stranger, was not uncommon; and in this connection it may be explained that the Burmese King was theoretically and practically the master of the life, person, and property of his subjects, and the owner of every inch of land over which he ruled. Neglect or disobedience of the King's commands was almost as grave an offence as high treason and the punishment for it included confiscation of property. So when Binnya Set was made to pay the penalty of his neglect with the sacrifice of his head, his property was confiscated, that is, it reverted to the King who, as it were, simply resumed what he had graciously permitted Binnya Set to retain possession of during His Majesty's license and pleasure; and such property could again be disposed of just as His Majesty pleased.

Then the question of an expedition to Linziñ to bring its King into submission and subjection was mooted, King Kyawdin Nawrata opening the question with a veiled desire in favour, and calling on all his generals to express their opinion. After the trouble and suffering of an arduous and protracted siege lasting nearly eight months, everyone of them would have been glad to

return to their homes from which they had been away quite a year, but knowing in which direction His Majesty's wishes inclined, not only were they unanimous in their opinion in favour of the expedition, but each in turn made most loyal speeches, coming forward to fight to the best of his ability in order to show his gratitude for past royal favours, and undertaking to meet the King of Linzin in single combat. The reason brought forward by the generals was that the King of Linzin had been a principal factor in the Kings of Yodaya lightly throwing off their allegiance to His Burman Majesty and often breaking out in open rebellion, because they had always relied on the assistance of their chief ally of Linzin; and therefore until the King of Linzin had been deprived of his power and influence and reduced to vassalage there could be no lasting peace with Yodaya. King Kyawdin Nawrata adduced his main reason that in raising Sawbwa Thaungkyi to the throne of Yodaya, there might be some of the nobility who secretly disliked their new sovereign, and Sawbwa Thaungkyi had as yet no time to create a sufficiently powerful nobility of his own to stand by him in case of need; therefore if the King of Linzin chose to invade Yodaya, the newly crowned King would fall an easy victim to the intrigue and treachery of the discontented section of the nobility; and moreover, he would be handicapped in the defence of his capital being poorly provided with big guns, as it was the intention of His Burman Majesty to send away all the big artillery to Hanthawaddy. Hence the urgent necessity to render the King of Linzin powerless in order to dispel from his mind any such ambitious designs to conquer lower Siam. Binnya Dala concurred with His Majesty's opinion and extolled the foresight displayed. Having thus unanimously agreed to march to Linzin direct from Yodaya, King Kyawdin Nawrata sent back to Hanthawaddy his queen Sanda Dewi (Candā Devī) and her female attendants, the sick and the disabled men, and also all the big guns seized in the capture of Yodaya. The escort consisted of about 10,000 men under the command of Nanda Kyawdin and Baya Kyawdin, and the big war boats were used as transport probably as far as Kamphengphet.

The new King of Yodaya then presented his young daughter Bra Thawun who was only seventeen years of age, by way of showing his gratitude and indebtedness to his suzerain; and the pros-

pect of obtaining this youthful and most likely a lovely consort was very probably the motive in sending back the old and perhaps a jealous queen. This young queen together with fifteen concubines accompanied His Burman Majesty to Linzin.

—: o :—

On Friday the 6th of waning Tazaungmôn¹ Chula Sakkaraj 931 (A. D. 1569.) King Kyawdin Nawrata left Yodaya for Linzin, via Peikthalauk. He himself travelled in a richly gilded royal barge, and of the army, some by land and some by water. At Peikthalauk the army was divided into two columns, the Maha Upayaza, the King of Prome, and the King of Ava, each with eleven brigades forming one column, were ordered to take the route via Lagun Kalauk; while the King of Toungoo with eleven brigades, the governor of Tharawaddy with five, and Binnya Gyandaw with four all in the van, and King Kyawdin Nawrata in the rear, forming the other column, marched in the direction of Kyauktaung (lit: stone-hill), and thence to Thaungyet, and thence again to Maing-San. It took about three months for the latter column to reach the Mè Kaung² river and encamped on the bank opposite the town of Maing-San. A council of war was then held in which the question discussed was, whether an immediate attack should be made on Maing-San after crossing the river or whether they should throw up fortifications on the bank opposite the town to give shelter and rest to the sick and the disabled, and defer the attack till the fortifications were completed. One Min Maha, a nobleman, said that in all the previous encounters of the King of Linzin with the Burmese, the unfortunate King had never once scored any success; therefore there must be some reason in his making such a bold stand with his forces both by land and by water. The wary nobleman was of opinion that it was not advisable to commence the attack without first making a thorough survey and reconnaissance, especially as the enemy had the advantage of a large force by water, the Burmese having no boats at all. He suggested building war boats, while at the same time waiting for the arrival of the column under the Maha Upayaza and two others which had taken the route through Lagun Kalauk.

1. November.
2. Me Nam Khong.

King Kyawdin Nawrata approved of the suggestion made by Min Maha, and orders were issued to every brigade to fell wood in a forest of "Letpan"³ trees and build boats. The whole army was kept at the work day and night with the result that in three weeks three hundred big war boats and two hundred royal barges were finished. Some of the war boats were painted with vermilion and some of the royal barges were gilded. The corps of royal bargemen then manned the royal barges, and a portion of the army was ordered to take to the war boats, to each of which a commander and a lieutenant were appointed. The whole flotilla was placed under the command of Binnya Gyandaw.

As soon as the arrangements had been completed, to form a force by water in order to equalise the advantage which the King of Linzin might have had before, King Kyawdin Nawrata ordered the flotilla to attack Linzin's war boats which were under the command of Binnya Kwa. The Burmese cavalry 15,000 strong supported the attack of their comrades on the water. In the engagement the Burmese flotilla had the advantage of position, and the current was also in their favour as they were above their enemies on the river. Linzin's forces were defeated, Binnya Kwa and over 3,000 men were killed, and over 200 war boats and 2,000 men captured.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then used the war boats to form a bridge across the Mè Kaung river and crossed over with the whole force he had. The King of Linzin, not daring to oppose the crossing or able to withstand a siege, took to flight with his army to find shelter in the woods; and His Burman Majesty entered Maing-San and occupied it without resistance. As was usual with the Burmese when a town had been taken, amusements in the way of music and dancing were indulged in.

The Maha Upayaza and the Kings of Ava and Prome who had gone in the direction of Lagun Kalauk could proceed only by slow marches owing to the large number of men and animals and the scarcity of provisions on the way. When approaching Lagun Kalauk they came upon a fairly big stream, on the other side of which was the town of Lagun Kalauk. On sounding the depth of the stream it was found that the surface of the water just touched the backs of

3. The Burmese name for Bobax Malabaricum.

the elephants. Therefore no bridge was constructed and the whole column crossed over, but how, it is not stated, probably some by swimming and some on the backs of the elephants. When they had crossed the river, Linzin's forces garrisoning Lagun Kalauk consisting of over 300 officers and 50,000 men, deserted the town and ran into the forest. The Maha Upayaza thus occupied the town without a struggle.

It was then about three months since they had parted from their Sovereign at Peikthalaik, and during that interval they had not heard any news of him; evidently the two routes chosen must have been a long way apart from each other, if not the two columns would certainly have kept in touch with each other. Neither did they get any information of the whereabouts of the King of Linzin. Therefore the Maha Upayaza and his two brother generals continued their march from Lagun Kalauk in the direction of Maing-San, leaving behind Binnya Paran with his brigade to garrison the town. This Binnya Paran was the same nobleman who, had incurred His Burman Majesty's displeasure and had consequently been deprived of his command, because while defending Peikthalaik against the combined forces of Siam and Linzin, he failed to follow up the King of Siam whose assault on the city he successfully repelled; subsequently, when the expedition against Linzin started he was given back his brigade and permitted to take part in the campaign. They marched along the banks of the Mè Kaung, probably because there were greater facilities for obtaining provisions and water.

King Kyawdin Navrata stayed at Maing-San for five days, and leaving the King of Toungoo with a force of 50,000 men to hold the town and attend to the sick, the disabled, and the fatigued, he started in pursuit of the King of Linzin. After three marches he came to a big lake, when Binnya Thane Lôn one of Chiangmai's chief nobleman told His Burman Majesty that the King of Linzin had been accustomed to keep a military force on some of the islands in the lake and that it would be advisable to take every possible precaution, because, he said, the King of Linzin who was very resourceful would certainly take full advantage of any careless move. A halt was at once ordered and a search for boats was made to explore the lake but none were to be found. Then rafts were constructed, and

having taken a few guns on them the lake was explored in several directions. In the middle of the lake an island was found inhabited by about 3000 people including men, women, and children; these unfortunate islanders were captured and brought over to the Burmese King. His Burman Majesty then continued his pursuit, and after four marches met the forces under the Maha Upayaza and two others. The King of Linzin had kept himself in hiding in the forest but had been always watching to strike a blow; when he knew that the two columns had joined he gave up hope of facing his enemy and went deeper into the forest.

The whole army again continued the pursuit of the flying King, but as the marches were rather forced and the villages few and far between in a tract sparsely populated, sufficient provisions to feed this large army of men and animals could not be obtained, with the result that they were not only fatigued with continual marching but half starved from want of regular meals. Many died of disease, starvation, and exhaustion but the pursuit was still persisted in, notwithstanding the fact that nobody knew where the King of Linzin was and whether the route chosen brought the pursuers towards or took them away from him. At last while camping at a place called Kabaung, a foot soldier went away from the camp in search of food. He was captured by some men from Linzin's army and taken into the presence of their Sovereign. On being questioned, he told his captors that his army had lost many men from disease and starvation and it was in great difficulties. At this the King of Linzin was very glad and said that it was not through fear that he did not meet his enemy at first, but that he was simply waiting for a favourable opportunity to strike the blow when they had been reduced to straits through hunger and sickness. Therefore making up his mind to face his foe, he constructed a wooden stockade with a moat surrounding it at a place about ten miles from Kabaung and occupied his stronghold with a force of 400 elephants and 80,000 men.

Subsequently, King Kyawdin Nawrata received information that the King of Linzin was in a fortified camp in a forest not far from where he was; therefore he issued orders to his generals to get ready, as he would march at once. But the men had by

this time been reduced to an acute stage of starvation. They had been subsisting on edible fruits, leaves, roots, bulbs etc., in the forest; and even these becoming scarce, there were many who had had nothing substantial to eat for three or four days, and had been obliged to turn to whatever was accessible, and feed on such coarse fare as reeds and water plants, to obtain what relief possible from the pangs of hunger. Still His Majesty's order must be obeyed, and they marched straining what little strength there was left in them, being probably buoyed up also with the hope that if once the object of their search was found and the result decided, there would be an end to their random wandering.

On arrival within a distance of about two miles from the place where the King of Linzin remained fortified, King Kyawdin Nawrata proposed to his generals that he would fight the King of Linzin singly, but in this he was dissuaded by them, saying that while they were yet alive it was not for His Burman Majesty to engage in single combat a petty monarch who was not an equal of His Burman Majesty in rank, wealth, or power. Everyone was eager to face the King of Linzin in single combat.

Then Binnya Dala went to the King of Prome and told him that it would be unadvisable to attack at once as the men had been unable to obtain any food the last three or four days, and were scarcely able to handle their weapons; some stragglers who, owing to starvation, had not been able to keep up with the march were still lagging wearily on. The King of Prome replied that what the Binnya had told him was only too true; nay, he himself could not get his last meal as no rice was to be obtained either for love or for money. Although fifty ticals had been offered for a "salè"⁴ of rice yet no rice was forthcoming. He said, "If we cannot get our meals what more to say of the poor private". He sent one Turin Theikdi (Turing Siddhi) to accompany Binnya Dala to King Kyawdin Nawrata to explain the condition of the army. His Burman Majesty seeing Binnya Dala come, requested his trusty counsellor to come closer to him, and enquired of the cautious nobleman what he thought of the intended immediate attack. Binnya Dala though far-seeing in

4. A Burmese measure of rice equal to $\frac{1}{8}$ of a gallon or about one Kanan.

many respects must, on this occasion, have erred in judgment on account of the misery and suffering which prevailed throughout the rank and file of the whole army, and the unexpected and apparently bold stand made by the King of Linzin who, he thought, had been driven to bay and had therefore resolved to fight wildly to the last. Guided by these considerations he advised his Sovereign, after many prostrations, to postpone the attack till the next morning, as the day was fast approaching its close. While His Burman Majesty was thus engaged in consultation with his faithful counsellor, the King of Prome came and told him that if the King of Linzin would only remain in his stronghold overnight, he would undertake to capture the crafty King without fail. His Burman Majesty was thus prevailed upon to encamp for the night and postpone the attack till the next morning.

The Maha Upayaza who, from past experience of the ways and methods of the King of Linzin, could form a better estimate of the slippery King's courage and war tactics, was averse to this postponement of the attack. He went to his father and told him that if the King of Linzin was to be captured, it must be done that evening, because His Burman Majesty would see no more of him the next day, as he would certainly take to flight in the night. King Kyawdin Nawrata, probably offended at the way his son tried to reason with him on a point he had already made up his mind, silenced further argument by asking the young intruder evasively, and perhaps in a sarcastic tone, whether he was not desirous of the flight of the King of Linzin. The Maha Upayaza had perforce to stop any further discussion, but he could not help giving vent to his discontent and chagrin by grumbling to the officers under him that his father's views and his were quite at variance. He said that as soon as the invading army had reached Yodaya he had suggested to his father to make one supreme effort and reduce the capital in one assault, but His Majesty had thought otherwise and relied only on his mound of earth; and the consequence had been that a very large number of men and animals had been sacrificed and the operations had been protracted to a wearying length of time. Then since leaving Yodaya, they had been praying to get a sight of the King of Linzin; and now that he had been found, the necessary immediate action was not taken; the inevitable result of this delay would be that the King of

Linzin would take to flight in the night, and orders would again be issued for this wild-goose chase, to the great misery, suffering, and disgust of the men.

The Burmese historian, probably to show to what straits the Burmese army had been reduced then, mentions that King Kyawdin Nawrata saw a Shan private, belonging to the picked body-guard regiment, pull out thatch grass and devour it. On His Burman Majesty enquiring the reason of his action, the Shan private told his Sovereign that he had been obliged to eat grass because he had not had any meal for the last three days and the hunger from which he had been suffering had been very great. King Kyawdin Nawrata at once ordered the distribution, to all the men in the body-guard brigades, of the rice which had been cooked, dried, and ground, that was in the possession of officers who had charge of stores and provisions.

Expecting to be attacked early the next morning, the King of Linzin made preparations to give the Burmese a fitting reception; and if he had been guided by no other counsel than his own he would certainly have fought the Burmese with the courage of a man brought to bay; and whatever the result might have been, the battle would at least have saved him from the evil reputation he had enjoyed among the Burmese, of always taking to his heels when brought to close quarters, and from the continual charge of cowardice brought against him. But his chief noble Binnya Thane advised him to give up the idea of fighting the Burmese, saying that their enemies had 5,300 elephants, 53,000 horse, and 550,000 men, whereas they had only 400 elephants and 80,000 men, and the disproportion was such that their defeat would be certain. The King of Linzin said that the strength of the Burmese might have been so at the commencement of the invasion of Yodaya, but in the meantime they had lost a good many of their forces in the siege of the Siamese capital, and subsequently from sickness and hunger in the operations in Linzin territory; and that therefore the time was most opportune to fight the Burmese with a hope of success. But Binnya Thane persisted in saying that success was out of the question and that defeat was beyond doubt. He recounted the reverses which they had suffered at every encounter they had had with the Burmese, namely, at Naung-Han when Binnya Nan had been killed in an engagement, and in another, Thane Lón Yazawut had very

nobly met his death ; then in the siege of Peikthalauk the combined forces of Yodaya and Linzin had been unable to subdue the comparatively small force commanded by only three Binnyas ; and lastly at Inthagaw, by trusting to the false representations of the Siamese nobleman Oya Ram, their army had suffered a signal defeat. Now only on the strength of the statement made by a solitary captive which might after all turn out to be untrue, to assume that the Burmese had been so reduced in numbers and so weakened by privations that they would not be able to fight as usual was absurd. Binnya Thane further said that Linzin territory was very extensive and there was ample room for Linzin's King and army to wander about and seek shelter till such time as the invaders got wearied and thought fit to leave the territory. The King of Linzin was at last prevailed upon by his chief noble, and he again took to flight under cover of night.

It was only on the next morning that the Burmese King found out that the bird had again flown, no doubt to the great disgust of his son the Maha Upayaza. The King of Linzin must have left his stronghold in a hurry to take full advantage of the whole night, because a quantity of grain and provisions was left behind which formed a welcome prize to the Burmese in the depleted state of their own stores.

King Kyawdin Nawrata then consulted his generals as to the next step to be taken. The Maha Upayaza who must have been very sore that his suggestion had been discarded, was the first to propose the return to Hanthawaddy, saying that they would not see the King of Linzin for many months more ; and that as the rains were approaching and the troops had already suffered much from want, wearying marches, and sickness, it would be best to return home. He was seconded by the King of Prome and supported by others. His Burman Majesty yielded to the general opinion, and the whole army retraced their steps to Maing-San in the month of Tagu. ⁵ On arrival at Maing-San, Binnya Paran died of illness and he was buried with full honours. He had been left by the Maha Upayaza at Lagun Kalauk to garrison the town ; but subsequently Lagun Kalauk must have been abandoned, and Binnya Paran ordered to rejoin the main

army. Binnya Paran's son was permitted to succeed to the command of his father's brigade with the title of Binnya Set. Binnya Law who, together with Binnya Paran, had been degraded and deprived of his command, for want of zeal and energy in defending the siege of Peikthalauk, was given back his former rank and title as well as his command. From Maing-San His Burman Majesty went to Peikthalauk which was reached in the month of Nayôn ⁶; after staying there five days he left it on the 7th of waxing Nayôn and reached Hanthawaddy on Saturday the 10th of waxing Wazo ⁷ Chula Sakkaraj 932 (A. D. 1570).



6. June.
7. July.

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE
NARRATIVE CONTAINED IN THE SIXTH PAPER.

—: o :—

Bureng
Naung
marches
into Laos
without
success.

Bureng Naung sent back by the nearest route to Pegu all sick and disabled men, with the plunder he had reserved and prisoners of importance; but with untiring energy he determined himself to follow up the King of Lengzeng. He proceeded with his hale and unwounded men to Pitsalauk, and from thence directed the march to the north-east of the several divisions of his army. In a few days he followed, and encamped on the right bank of the Mekong opposite Maingzan. Some of the divisions passed the river higher up and moved down the left bank. As Bureng Naung was prepared to cross by a bridge of boats, the enemy evacuated the city. The place was made a depôt for stores and for the sick, the King of Taungu being placed in command, and Bureng Naung himself marched in pursuit of the enemy. The King of Laos was too wary to come to an engagement, and the invaders were soon wearied by long marches in a mountainous country, and by want of food. They returned to Maingzan thoroughly exhausted, and the whole army recrossing the Mekong, marched back to Pitsalauk. Bureng Naung, pushing on to his capital, arrived there a month later. Of the original army which marched against Siam, very few men survived to reach their own country.

June A. D.
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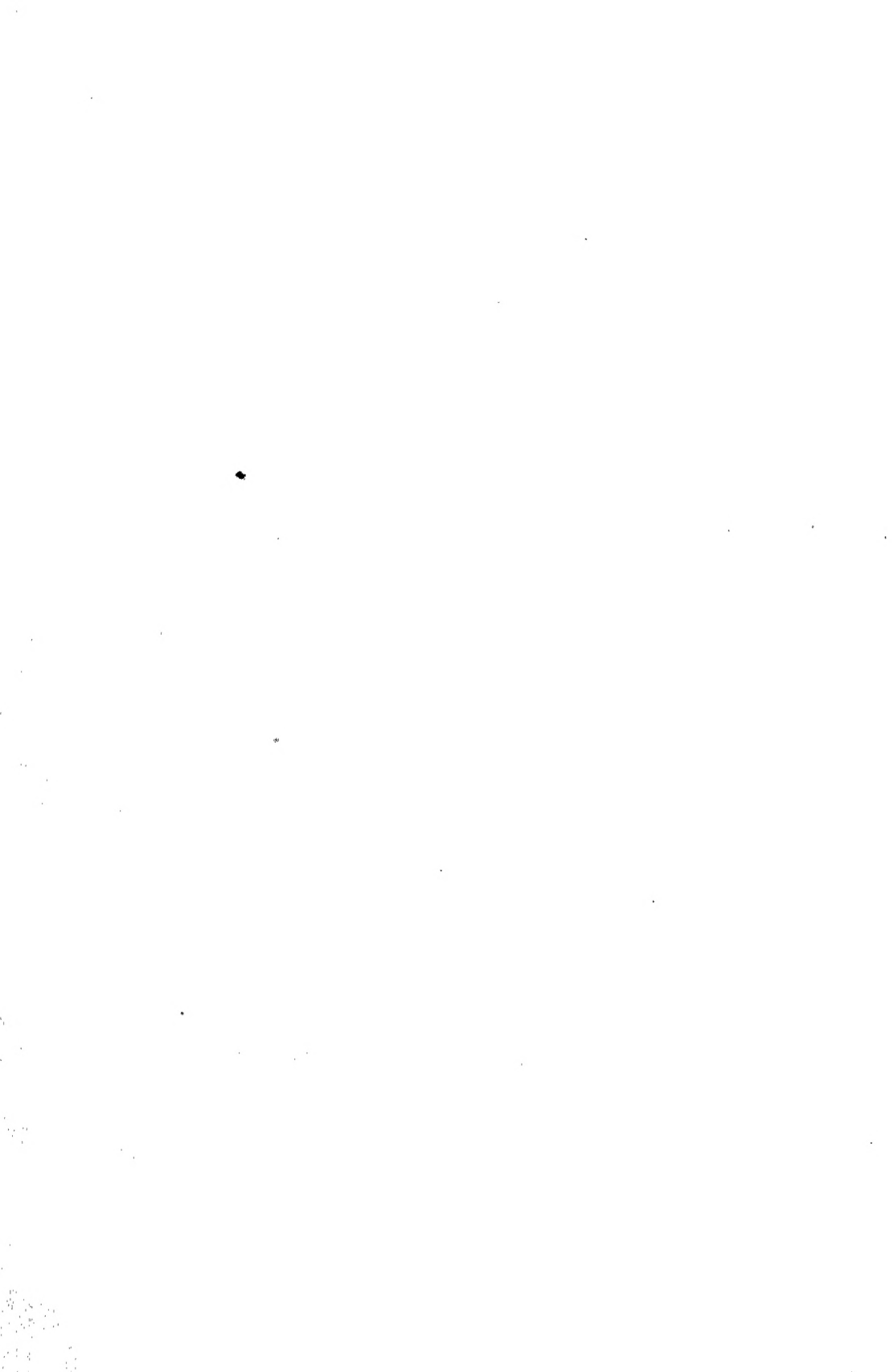
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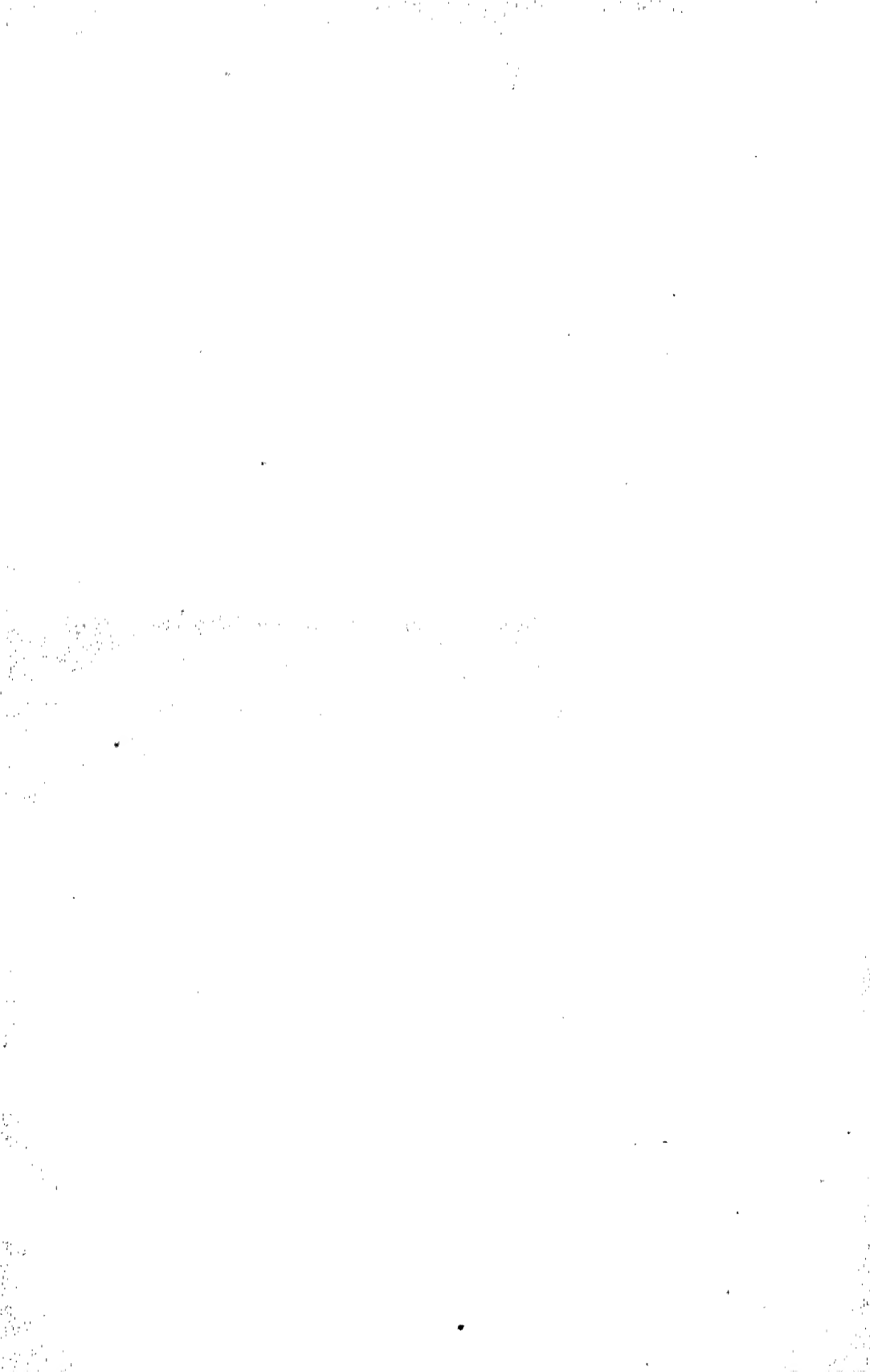
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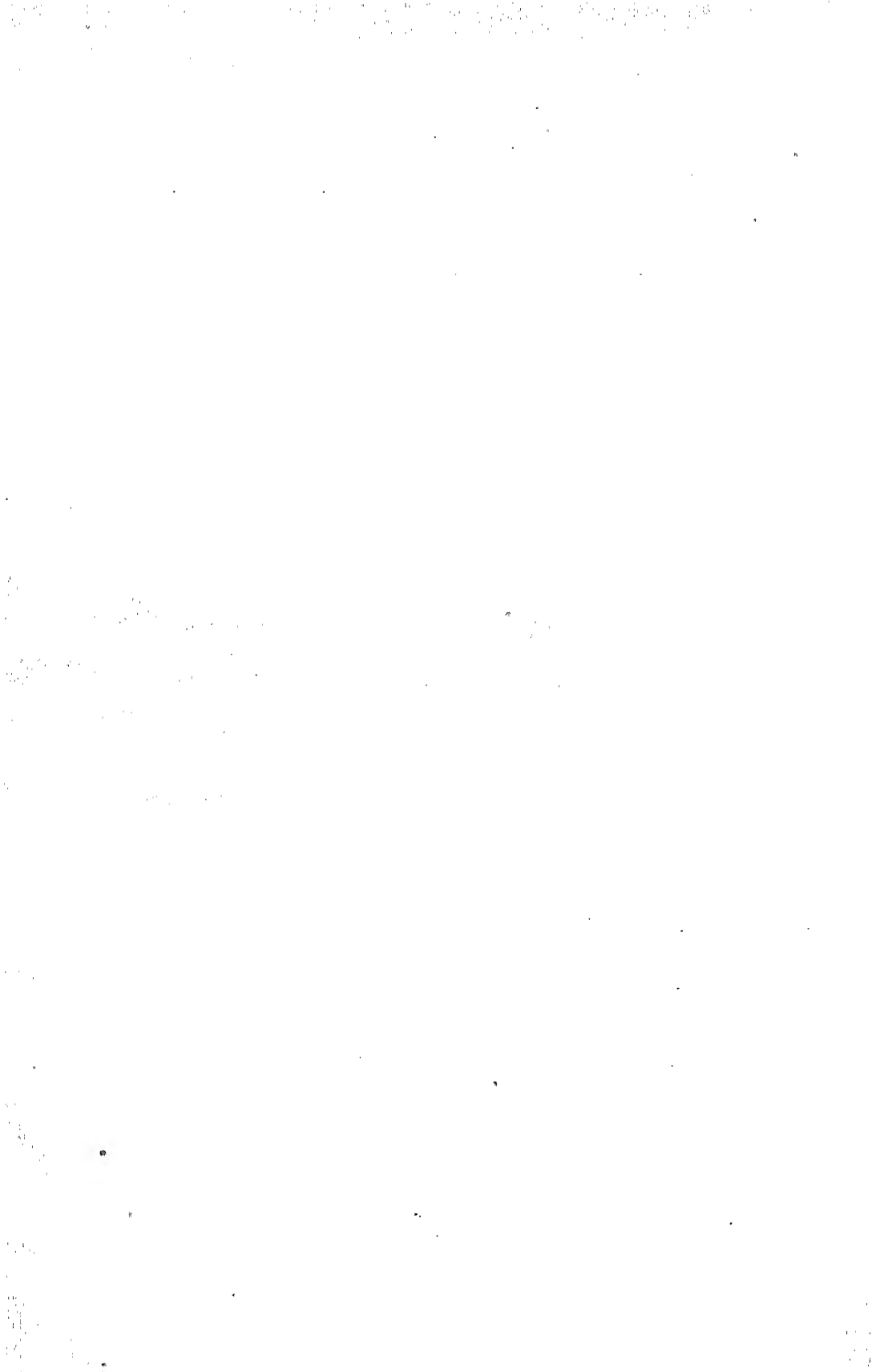
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The New Penal Code of Siam.

By T. MASAO, D. C. L., LL. D.

Introduction.

The name of a great monarch often goes down to posterity in connection with some great law. The name of Emperor Justinian who had been a great general is handed down to us more in connection with his famous Codes than in connection with any of his great wars. So is the name of King Phra Buddhayot Fa of Siam handed down to us more in connection with his famous recension of Siamese laws than in connection with anything else he accomplished. Napoleon is now remembered equally well in connection with wars as in connection with the Code which bears his name, but as time goes on the glories of his famous wars will fade into obscurity and the time will come when, as in the case of Justinian, Napoleon's name will be remembered more in connection with his famous Code than in connection with his famous wars. It may then be said that the recent promulgation of the Penal Code for the Kingdom of Siam was an event of no small significance to His Majesty King Chulalongkorn. Indeed, any one who has read His Majesty's preamble published in the local press a few weeks ago can not have failed to be impressed with the deep appreciation His Majesty has of the importance of the steps His Majesty is taking in regard to the enactment of the Penal Code and other Codes that are to follow.

Incidentally, His Majesty the King has given in that preamble a most accurate history of the new Penal Code and of general codification in Siam. It is therefore quite unnecessary for me to say anything in regard to the history of this Code to-night. The best I can do is to refer you to His Majesty's most elegant and accurate historical account given in that preamble. I may therefore proceed at once to give you an account of such general features of this Code as may be of interest to you as members of the general public.

Classification of Offences.

The new Penal Code of Siam discards the system of dividing offences into classes—a system in vogue with most of the older Penal Codes. If you will open the French Penal Code of 1810, which is still in force, the first thing you will meet with is the division of offences into 3 classes, namely, crimes, delicts, and contraventions. This system was followed by most of the older Penal Codes—such as those of Belgium, Germany, Japan, Italy, Egypt, etc. One great defect of this system is that it is impossible to define crimes, delicts and contraventions in such a way as to distinguish them logically one from another. For, what logical difference is there between a crime and a delict? There is none. They are both offences. It is no wonder then that the French Penal Code simply begs the question by saying that a crime is an offence liable to afflictive or infamous punishments or to both, a delict is an offence liable to correctional punishments, and a contravention is an offence liable to police punishments. Logically this is no definition. But if the Courts were divided into corresponding classes, for instance, as “Criminal Courts,” “Correctional Courts,” and “Magistrates’ Courts,” such a division of offences into classes might be found useful in deciding the question of jurisdiction. But the fact is, that in Siam as in many other countries the powers of a “Criminal Court” and the powers of a “Correctional Court” are vested in one and the same Court. Consequently, there would be neither logic nor practical utility to warrant the adoption of the conventional system of dividing and classifying offences. However, for the sake of convenience petty offences are grouped together at the end of the Code. That the modern tendency has been to do away with the system of dividing and classifying offences may be seen from the fact that the new Penal Code of Japan promulgated this year has also discarded it. It may also be of interest to you to know that the Indian Penal Code is on the side of those Codes that do not divide offences into classes.

Punishments.

One good result of the discarding of the conventional division of offences into crimes, delicts and contraventions by the new Penal Code is that it has simplified the names of punishments to a great extent. Under this Code there are only 6 punishments, viz.,

- (1) Death,
- (2) Imprisonment,
- (3) Fine,
- (4) Restriction of residence,
- (5) Forfeiture of property, and
- (6) Security for keeping the peace.

You will have some idea of the simplicity attained in this respect when you remember that under the French Penal Code there are 15 punishments and under the old Penal Code of Japan no less than 18. It might be suggested that it is very well to reduce the number of punishments but it would be disastrous to do so at the cost of some of the necessary modes of punishment. I can assure you that there is absolutely no need for apprehension on that score. For, the fact is that in the case of the French Penal Code, the old Japanese Penal Code, and the other Penal Codes following the conventional method of dividing offences into crimes, delicts and contraventions, it is found necessary to multiply and complicate the names of punishments in order to make them fit in with the different classes of offences, although as a matter of fact there may be no substantial difference between one mode of punishment passing under one name and another mode passing under a different name. For instance, under the old Japanese Penal Code, imprisonment alone has no less than 11 different names, viz.,

- (1) Forced labour for life,
- (2) Forced labour for a limited period,
- (3) Perpetual deportation,
- (4) Temporary deportation,
- (5) Major reclusion,
- (6) Minor reclusion,
- (7) Major detention,
- (8) Minor detention,
- (9) Imprisonment with work,
- (10) Imprisonment without work, and
- (11) Police confinement.

The French Penal Code is not quite so bad, but even there you will find as many as 6 different names for imprisonment

and 7 if deportation is included. But in France deportation is a distinct form of punishment. In Japan it is not. The Japanese Government has found it extremely difficult to make proper provisions for enforcing deportation as a form of punishment distinct from imprisonment. The result is that all the 11 punishments above mentioned are simply different names for calling one and the same thing,—imprisonment. The only distinctions that can possibly be made are that some prisoners are made to work while others are not, and that some prisoners are kept in one jail while others are kept in another. But if these are distinctions they are distinctions that exist everywhere, whether imprisonment is called by one name or by a dozen different names.

With offences divided into classes it is necessary to call imprisonment by a great many different names. But with offences not divided into classes, there is no necessity for complicating matters by calling one and the same thing by so many different names. Consequently, the new Penal Code of Siam has only one name for imprisonment, *i. e.*, it is called by that name only. That is the principal reason why this Code has attained so much simplicity in respect of punishments, and in this respect it compares favourably with the Indian Penal Code under which there are 7 punishments, and the new Japanese Penal Code, under which there are also 7 punishments. It will be noticed that the Code leaves whipping out of the list of punishments. This is simply recognizing in the Code what already exists as a matter of fact, namely, the fact that in general conformity with the humane sentiments prevailing under His Majesty's enlightened rule the Courts have practically put whipping out of use. It is a curious fact that if any voice is heard against the abolition of whipping in Siam it is not so much from the Siamese as from some Europeans,—especially, Englishmen from India. Perhaps, it is well to remember that the Indian Penal Code is probably the only civilized Penal Code that retains whipping.

First and Second Offenders.

How to control second offenders is a problem that has to be met with by the administrator, the legislator, and the judge alike. The Finger-print system first introduced by the Commissioner of Police into the Police Department of Bangkok some years ago has been found so useful that it has been adopted by the Ministry of

Justice as a means of controlling second offenders throughout the Kingdom. But the subject of the Finger-print system scarcely belongs to the Penal Code. Within the sphere of a Penal Code there are two systems for controlling second offenders, either or both of which may be adopted. The new Penal Code of Siam has adopted both of them. The first of these is :—

The System of Conditional Sentences.

This is quite an innovation. Strictly speaking it is not so much a system of controlling second offenders as that of controlling first offenders. It is a system of controlling first offenders in such a way as to prevent them from committing offences a second time. Many a Judge can recall with the deepest grief the instance when circumstances compelled him against his better judgment to send a man or woman to prison when such man or woman had merely been the victim of some temptation or circumstances for which, morally speaking, such man or woman could hardly be said to be blamable and yet legally had to be held responsible. If, in such a case, there is no previous conviction proved against the offender, and it appears to the Judge that in view of the comparative respectability or youthfulness of the offender, or of the comparatively good character he has been known to bear in the past, or of the comparatively good antecedents he possesses, or of any other sufficiently extenuating circumstances,—if, in view of all or any of these circumstances, it appears to the Judge that under a proper warning from him the offender is likely to exercise more control over himself in future and is not likely to commit a second offence, what necessity is there for sending him to prison except that of satisfying the letter of the law? On the other hand, if such an offender is sent to prison, what is the result? He mixes with other prisoners who are real criminals and by the time his sentence expires he comes out of prison as a new man—not as a reformed new man but as a new member of the criminal class. If, in such a case, the Judge had the discretionary power of making the sentence conditional, *i. e.*, that the sentence of, let us suppose, imprisonment for 1 year shall not be executed on condition that the offender does not commit another offence for, let us say, 5 years, it would be like killing two birds with one stone. During those 5 years the offender would be a sort of a penitent. In his conscience he would be just as sorry for having committed the

offence as if he were in prison, but not being in prison he would not run the risk of receiving a criminal education. Then there would be the inducement that if he does not commit another offence during those 5 years the sentence is not to be executed at all and what is more the sentence becomes null and void, so that he becomes a man with a clean record as if he had never committed an offence in his life. On the other hand, there would be the warning that if he does commit another offence during those 5 years, the sentence becomes at once effective and in being tried and sentenced for the subsequent offence he is to be treated as a second offender subject to the disadvantage resulting out of the principle of Recidivism, of which I shall speak further.

It was with some such ideas as these that the system of conditional sentences was first tried in Belgium some 20 years ago. It was found so successful there that the example has been followed by several other countries such as France, Japan, Egypt, etc. The system, as adopted in the new Penal Code of Siam, is to be applied to sentences of imprisonment for 1 year or less only and the period of "penitent probation", if I may call it so, is 5 years. In Japan, the authorities were not sure as to whether the system would work well or not. A special decree was passed and the system was put in force more as an experiment than anything else. The Japanese authorities wished to be cautious in the matter and the system was applied only to sentences of imprisonment for 1 year or less, as is also the case with the new Penal Code of Siam. But the result of the experiment has been so satisfactory that the system has now been formally incorporated into the new Japanese Penal Code and its scope has been extended so as to apply to sentences of imprisonment for 2 years or less. In Belgium, France, and other countries where the system of conditional sentences is enforced, it is done so by special laws for the reason that at the time the Penal Codes of those countries were enacted the system was not yet in existence. The new Penal Code of Siam and the new Penal Code of Japan, which are the latest additions to the list of the Penal Codes of the world, are probably the only Penal Codes in which the system of conditional sentences is formally incorporated. In fairness to America and England it should be mentioned perhaps that it was in America that the idea of conditional sentences first originated and that England too has had her system of what is called "probation

of first offenders" for half a century. But the system of conditional sentences adopted in the new Penal Codes of Siam and Japan is essentially the Continental one.

I have said above that the new Penal Code of Siam has adopted two systems for controlling second offenders. So much for the first of these two systems. The second of these is:—

Recidivism.

This is a system of controlling first offenders against becoming second offenders, of controlling second offenders against becoming third offenders, of controlling third offenders against becoming fourth offenders, and so on, by holding out to them the fear of increased punishments. In short, it is a system of controlling habitual offenders by increasing their punishments in certain definite proportions. Recidivism is one of those principles which are so commonly known in countries where the system of Continental Codes is followed but are almost unknown as general principles of jurisprudence in countries where English law prevails. An English Judge will as a matter of common sense be inclined to punish a second offender more severely than a first offender as, indeed, any Judge will be inclined to. But an English Judge who gives an increased punishment to a habitual offender does so (except in some statutory cases) within the maximum limit of the punishment provided for the particular offence committed, while a Continental Judge who does the same thing has the advantage of doing so by extending the maximum limit of the punishment by so much and within the maximum limit so extended. As adopted in the new Penal Code of Siam there are four kinds of recidivism, viz., general recidivism, special recidivism, third offenders' recidivism, and recidivism of petty offences. General recidivism applies where a person who has been punished for any kind of offence commits another offence of whatever kind within 5 years of his liberation from the punishment suffered for his first offence. In such a case the punishment for the subsequent offence is, according to the system adopted, to be increased by one third. Special recidivism applies where a person who has been punished for one of the offences specially mentioned in the Code for this purpose commits another offence of the

same class within 3 years of his liberation. In such a case the punishment for the subsequent offence is to be increased by one half. Third offenders' recidivism applies where a person who has been twice punished for one or another of the offences specially mentioned in the Code for this purpose commits another offence of the same class within 5 years of his liberation. In such a case the punishment for the last offence is to be doubled. Recidivism of petty offences applies where a person who has been punished for having committed a petty offence commits another petty offence of the same class within one year. In such a case also the punishment for the subsequent petty offence is to be doubled.

Maximum and Minimum Punishments.

One of the most striking features of the French Penal Code is the extreme narrowness of the limits within which the maximum and minimum of each punishment are prescribed. It forms such a contrast to the English system of prescribing only the maximum punishment for each offence and leaving everything else to the discretion of the Judge. Under the French system the Judge has but little discretion left. In my opinion the system of maximum and minimum punishments adopted in the French Penal Code is one of the reflections of the spirit of the period following the French Revolution. It is one of those things that were adopted at that period to safeguard the people against the tyranny of the officials. While the English system is no doubt a most excellent system for England, it does not follow necessarily that it will prove itself to be so for any other country; and while the French system ties up the Judge too much and has no doubt other defects as well, it cannot be denied that it has some very excellent points about it too. The English system requires a staff of most superior judges such as are found in England, who may be said to be almost superhuman. The French system is workable with a staff of judges who have received a fair training as judges. If a choice had to be made between the two systems to begin a new experiment, the cautious man would have no hesitation in choosing the French system to begin with. If the French system is modified in such a way that the limits within which the maximum and minimum of a punishment are prescribed, are not made too narrow, a great

deal of the objection against the system disappears while the commendable features of the system are kept intact. The system of maximum and minimum punishments adopted in the new Penal Code of Siam is just such a modified form of the French system.

Accumulated Offences.

The new Penal Code of Siam discards a principle which is common to Continental Penal Codes but unknown to English law and passes under the name of "Cumulation of Offences." This principle means that where an offender has accumulated several offences such as theft committed at one place, fraud committed at another place, etc., for which he has not been punished yet, he is, on being tried and sentenced for all these offences together, to receive the punishment provided for the most serious of these offences only, as is the case with the French Penal Code, or is to receive the punishment provided for the most serious of these offences plus one fourth or one third etc. of the punishments provided for the rest, as is the case with the new Japanese Penal Code. In my opinion this is another one of those things reflecting the spirit of the period following the French Revolution. The defenders of this system usually rely on philosophical grounds of extremely speculative kind, namely, that the criminality of an offender who has accumulated ten offences committed at different times and places is not necessarily ten times the criminality of an offender who has committed only one offence and that if the State had exercised sufficient vigilance to catch and punish him when he had committed his first offence he might have been prevented from committing his nine other offences. The simple and practical English system of visiting each offence with punishment is one that commends itself far better to common sense. The new Penal Code of Siam is distinctly English in this respect. Of course, the English system of visiting each offence with punishment does not mean that where a person violates several provisions of the law by one and the same act he is to be punished separately for each violation of the law, nor does it mean that where a person commits an offence which is composed of many parts any of which constitutes a separate offence, he is to be punished separately for each of those many parts. For if it did, what would be the result? A man who gives another man a

hundred strokes with a stick would, at the rate of let us say one year for each blow, get one hundred years for the whole beating ! The English system is sufficiently guarded against such absurdities and so is the system as adopted in the new Penal Code of Siam.

How to Count a Term of Imprisonment.

This is a question of very practical importance,—especially to prisoners. Suppose a man is sentenced to imprisonment for a month. It is a question of absorbing interest to him to know when that sentence begins to run and when it ends: whether imprisonment for a month means imprisonment for one calendar month, in which case it makes a difference of three days whether he is imprisoned in February or in March, or whether it means imprisonment for 30 days, in which case it makes no difference whether he is imprisoned in February or in March or in any other month: whether the first day of imprisonment is counted, and, if so, whether it counts for one full day or for any fraction thereof: whether the last day of imprisonment is counted and, if so, whether it counts for one full day or for any fraction thereof: whether both the first and last days of imprisonment are counted or whether either the first or last day only is counted: whether the month begins to be counted from the time when the prisoner was actually under imprisonment pending his trial, or whether it begins to be counted from the time when the judgment was read out to him or from the time when the judgment became unappealable: and so on. The question becomes still more complicated if there is an appeal. It then becomes a question of equally absorbing interest to the prisoner to know whether the imprisonment undergone pending the appeal is to be counted and if so, for how much: whether it is counted for more or for less if the appeal was by the prisoner himself, or was by the Crown Prosecutor: whether it is counted for more or for less if the appeal was won or was lost: and so on.

The French Penal Code contains most elaborate provisions in regard to these questions, leaving to the Judge little else but mechanical work to do,—a fact which I regard as another instance of the reflection of the spirit of the period following the French Revolution. But the provisions of the new Japanese Penal Code and other modern Penal Codes in regard to these questions display a tendency to simplify the matter as much as possible. In

consonance with this tendency the system adopted in the new Penal Code of Siam is exceedingly simple. It is as follows:—A month does not mean a calendar month but means 30 days. The first day of imprisonment counts in full, but the last day, *i. e.*, the day of liberation does not count at all. So far there is not much difference between the Siamese system and any other system. But now comes the simplicity of the Siamese system, namely:—Imprisonment undergone pending trial or appeal counts in full, except when provided otherwise by the judgment. This disposes of nearly a dozen questions suggested above, by one stroke. It may not be in strict conformity with the hard theory of the law that a man who is spending his time in an Under-trial Jail pending his trial or appeal, is not spending his time there as a convict, and that consequently the time spent there should not count for his sentence. Nevertheless, it is an exceedingly simple, practical and humane system, and what is best of all, it is the system that has been actually in use in Siam.

Juvenile Offenders.

The tendency of modern legislation in regard to juvenile offenders is to recognize them more and more as a distinct class of unfortunate children and to give more and more freedom to the Judge in dealing with them. In most cases they are either orphans or cast-aways, or children of parents who have not made their homes sweet to their children. Some of them may be of a comparatively good sort: others may be of an absolutely bad sort. In some cases a mere admonition from the Judge may be sufficient: in other cases it may be necessary to do a great deal more than that. What is certain in all cases is that they should not be sent to ordinary jails where they may only be expected to receive a further training in the profession of crimes. It is clear then that the Judge should be given considerable freedom in dealing with juvenile offenders, so that he may act according to the requirements of each particular case. In the case of an orphan or castaway who, in the opinion of the Judge, requires more than a mere admonition, the best and the only thing that can be done may be to send him to a Reformatory School. But in the case of the child of a parent who has failed to make his home sufficiently attractive to the child, it may be said that the responsibility for the child's offence rests as much (or perhaps more) on the

parent as on the child and it may be a good idea to bind over the parent in some way for the good behaviour of the child.

The system adopted in the new Penal Code of Siam is substantially the system in use in England, Japan and Egypt, and meets all those emergencies above suggested. Children under 7 years are absolutely irresponsible. Children over 7 years and under 14 are presumed to be irresponsible but may be admonished, or sent to a Reformatory School, or handed over to parents under a bond for good behaviour, etc., etc., according to the requirements of each particular case and according as the Judge thinks fit. Children over 14 years and under 16 are also presumed to be irresponsible, but this presumption may be rebutted. Unless it is rebutted they are to be dealt with in the same way as children between 7 and 14. If it is rebutted and a child between 14 and 16 is proved to have attained sufficient maturity of understanding to judge of the nature and illegality of his conduct, he is to be punished with half the punishment provided for his offence. Even then the Judge may, if he thinks fit, send the child to a Reformatory School instead of inflicting the half punishment.

Application of the Code.

Sooner or later the time is bound to come when Siam shall be freed from the present regime of what is popularly called extra-territoriality, or the system under which the subjects of the Treaty Powers are exempt from the jurisdiction of the Siamese Courts and are subject only to the jurisdiction of the Courts of their own Consuls or their own Judges. A Penal Code for Siam which is adopted at a time like now when the abolition of the system of Consular jurisdiction seems so much nearer in sight than it ever seemed at any other time, should of course provide for the event of its being applied not only to Siamese subjects but to foreigners as well. Moreover such a Code should not only provide for the event of its being applied to foreigners committing offences in Siam but also for the event of its being applied to foreigners committing at least some special kinds of offence out of Siam. Such special kinds of offences are the offences against the King of Siam and the Siamese Government, the offences of counterfeiting Siamese coins, and of forging Siamese paper-currency notes or bank-notes, Siamese revenue stamps, etc.,

etc. When the old Japanese Penal code was enacted 30 years ago as a means of preparing the way for the day when the Treaty Powers should give up Consular jurisdiction, that day seemed so far away that even the eminent French jurist, M. Boissonade, who drafted that Code, did not think it worth while to provide for the event of that Code being applied to foreigners committing such special kinds of offences out of Japan. No great inconvenience was felt as long as the Treaty Powers maintained Consular jurisdiction. But when on the outbreak of the war with China the Treaty Powers suddenly gave up Consular jurisdiction in Japan, the defect of the old Penal Code in this respect became very evident and it was one of the principal causes that necessitated the enactment of the new Penal Code for Japan. In Siam we want to do better than they have done in Japan in this respect. At any rate, we do not want to draw up a Code which is intended for a certain state of things and which, when that very state of things begins to exist, is found to require to be superseded by another Code on account of that state of things having come into existence.

The provisions of the new Penal Code of Siam on the subject of the application of Siamese criminal laws leave little to be desired. In short, these provisions are that the Penal Code and other Siamese criminal laws are applicable to all offences committed in Siam and to such offences committed out of Siam as are stated in the Code, namely, the offences against the King and the State, the offences relating to money, seals or stamps of the State, and the offence of piracy. It is also provided that a Siamese subject committing an offence out of Siam is punishable in Siam provided that there be a complaint by a foreign State or by the injured person; that the offence be punishable as well by the law of the country where it is committed as by the law of Siam, if committed in Siam; and that the offender be not acquitted or discharged in the foreign country. Of course, it need scarcely be said that these provisions have only a limited application at present, but that is no reason why they should not be there,—especially in view of Japan's experience in this respect.

Conclusion.

Such are a few of the general features of the new Penal Code of Siam. Things accomplished in the administration of law are

least visible to the physical eye. But I may be pardoned for expressing the hope that what has been said to-night will have shown incidentally that the progress made in the legal lines in Siam has been quite as great as that made in the military lines where every one can see with his own physical eyes the wonderful progress that has been made within the last few years. Truly, His Majesty King Chulalongkorn of Siam might, with equal fitness with Justinian, proclaim to the world:—

“Imperatoriam majestatem non solum armis decoratam sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus et bellorum et pacis recte possit gubernari!”



ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING, 2ND JULY, 1908.

DISCUSSION ON DR. MASAO'S PAPER.

An ordinary meeting of the Society took place at the Bangkok United Club on the evening of Thursday, the 2nd July, 1908. The President, Dr. O. Frankfurter was in the chair.

In introducing Dr. Masao the Chairman said: The paper which Dr. Masao is going to read before us this evening on the new Penal Code of Siam is one of very great interest, and in which every one who witnesses the development of Siam is necessarily interested. Dr. Masao, who is the oldest Member of the Committee for the drafting of the law, is thoroughly competent to deal with questions of modern and ancient law, and he has also shown when he read before us his papers on the indigenous Law of Siam, as a study of comparative jurisprudence.

Dr. Masao then read his paper.

Dr. Frankfurter said: The applause which greeted Dr. Masao makes it very easy for me to propose the first resolution this evening, viz: a cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Masao for his very competent paper. He has given us in a short space a clear and succinct statement of what the new penal code of Siam will be, he has shown that its provisions are clear and free from ambiguity and that in the hands of judges animated by care and diligence the code will be of benefit for future ages, and will, as Dr. Masao said, redound to the glory of the King under whose reign it was promulgated. The language of the law is clear, plain, and thoroughly Siamese, and not that curious mixture of Anglo-Siamese of which Mr. Black and others rightly complained in laws which were too obviously modelled after foreign examples. We can only hope that the second and more important task, that of the drafting of a Civil code for Siam will be taken in hand under the same good auspices and that we shall have in the near future as able an expositor of its provisions as Dr. Masao has proved himself to be in the Penal Code, *Quos am pars magna fuit*

Mr. J. Stewart Black said: I feel sure we shall all most cordially endorse the vote of thanks which the President has just proposed to Dr. Masao for his interesting and valuable paper on the Siamese Penal Code.

If M. Padoux, the Legislative Adviser, had not been absent on leave, he would no doubt have sought an opportunity of reading a paper before this Society on the subject of the Penal Code, for which in its final shape he is chiefly responsible. In his absence no one I am sure is better qualified than Dr. Masao to undertake this task. And he is to be congratulated not only on the mastery of the English language which he has displayed, but on the clear and emphatic manner in which he has read the paper to us.

He has presented to us some of the more salient features of the Siamese Penal Code. And I should like to say something about the sources from which the Code has been derived and perhaps also to point out some of the differences which may strike those who are accustomed to the English system of law.

You will have gathered from what Dr. Masao has said that this Penal Code is not a slavish copy or imitation of any of the other Penal Codes in existence.

This is quite correct, but of course inspiration has been derived from all Penal Codes—the Italian, French, Indian and Japanese Codes, in particular.

The French system of codification has had predominating influence on all Codes, and to this start it has also influenced the Siamese Penal Code. It has, I might say, similarly influenced the Indian Penal Code. But it is worth while noting that the modern system of codification did not originate in France. To Germany belongs that honour. As far back as the year 1510, a Penal Code was drafted for one of the German States and during the next two centuries Penal Codes were enacted in Batavia, Prussia and Austria.

In 1810 the French Penal Code was promulgated, and it was so much superior to the existing German Penal Code that the latter when amended, showed strong traces of the French influence, and that influence, as I have said, is seen to exist in all Codes now in force at the present time.

There exists a Penal Code in every civilised country in the world, with one exception and that exception is England.

Why this should be so, is rather difficult to say. Perhaps the reason is the insuperable difficulty which exists in the way of getting any legislation through such a mixed assembly as the British Parliament. I think too the British Public has always displayed great apathy concerning all legal matters. It may also be said that we have in England judges of such eminent character and abilities that they succeed in keeping a system going which in the hands of less able men might lead to a popular outcry for reform.

But there has been in England at the time, though not in the memory of the present generation, much discussion on the subject of codification.

In the year 1833 a Royal Commission began sitting to report on the state of the Criminal Law. It sat for about 10 years and issued voluminous reports, in which is to be found a Digest of the Criminal Law of England. A second Commission then sat from 1843 to 1848 to consider what amendments should be introduced into the Law. They also issued voluminous reports from time to time and finally drafted a Bill which was practically a Penal Code for England.

This was presented to Parliament, but ultimately for one reason or another—mostly political—it was dropped with the exception of the consolidation of some Acts, relating to special offences, passed in 1861. This is about as far as England has gone towards codification.

But all this was not done without discussion and it was such discussions in England and in other countries that have been of use to those concerned in drafting the Siamese Penal Code. Many debatable points in criminal law have been thoroughly thrashed out in Europe and full advantage of this has been taken here and though it is correct to say that the Siamese Code is not a copy of any Code, the drafting of it has naturally been made easy on account of the labours of so many predecessors in the same field.

In a country like Siam, where we have no Parliamentary institutions and where the public are not invited to contribute to the work of legislation, we have less discussion. When once a measure is decided upon it becomes a comparatively easy thing to get it passed into law.

As regards the general principles of the Siamese Penal Code, I think I may say that people who are accustomed to the English system of law will not find anything in the Code which is very strange or novel and other European nations will find it more or less familiar.

There are one or two points which may interest lawyers in Bangkok. The punishment of restriction of residence, for example, is new. Here in Siam on account of geographical reasons it was not found possible to make deportation a punishment, but restriction of residence is useful in the case of some notorious offenders whose evil reputation has made them feared in their own districts.

It is convenient to be able to prevent such offenders from returning to their own village and terrorising the people, and the Code gives the Court power to add in their judgment that certain offenders after the expiry of their term of imprisonment shall either live in a certain district or shall refrain from returning to a certain district for a length of time not exceeding 7 years.

The sections which deal with insanity are interesting and the point is new to English lawyers. In English law to speak popularly and generally an insane person is not held responsible for his actions. Under the Siamese Code a middle course may be taken. If the Court thinks the accused is only partially able to judge of the nature and illegality of the act, some sort of reduced punishment may be given, no minimum being fixed. Personally I think the English method is best but it will be interesting to see how the Siamese judges deal with a difficult point like this.

Then there is another section which will strike some people as new. It has been made a criminal offence to reveal a secret which is communicated to a professional man. This is not an offence under English law, but by the Siamese Penal Code any person who wrongfully discloses any private secret communicated

to him by reason of his functions or profession in a manner likely to cause injury to the person communicating such secret, is liable to imprisonment or fine.

In concluding, Mr. Stewart Black said that time would not permit him to mention other points but he felt sure that foreign residents in Bangkok, would not find anything in the Code with which they would not more or less completely agree and that the Siam Society and the public in general were much indebted to Dr. Masao, for the learned and interesting contribution he had made to their knowledge of the Siamese Penal Code.

The President: We should be glad if Mr. Naylor, who has had a long experience of criminal law in Siam, would give us his views.

Mr. C. Naylor said:—The interesting paper which has been read by Dr. Masao has been perhaps more interesting to me on account of my knowledge of the evolution of the Siamese Penal Code than to others. I remember fifteen years ago my old friend Luang Ratanayati, then Attorney General, afterwards Phya Kraisee; and Chief Judge of the Criminal Court starting to draft a new Penal Code for Siam. He was an English barrister, and he was firmly convinced that there was no better means of providing a penal code for Siam than by following on the general lines of the Indian Penal Code. He knew the temperament of his countrymen very well. He made a draft in English of a penal code which however did not find favour with the Siamese authorities, and I suppose it may be found in some pigeon hole or other even now. He was admitted, during his time, to be one of the best criminal judges that has ever sat on the Siamese Bench. The learned writer of the paper which we have just heard has this advantage over me, and I think over most of us, that we have not seen the text of the Penal Code to which he refers. I do not know in what language the Code was first drafted, and I am very curious to know whether it was in English or in Siamese. I ask this because among the many learned gentlemen who contributed to this, were men whose mother languages were different. In the first place the Penal Code confines itself or so I imagine, entirely to laying down what offences and acts on the part of individuals are considered criminal by the State, and also provides for the punishment which such acts merit. It has

nothing to do with procedure. A comparison has been drawn between European Continental and English law with regard to crime. The great difference between the British and the Continental system is not on the question of what are crimes and what are not, and what punishment should or should not be awarded, but the great difference is the distinction between their procedure and ours. The great difference in this connection is this; the British system gives to the judge a very great and wide discretion. We believe that justice cannot be measured by the yard; that you cannot draw up a code which will with certainty mete out justice in every individual case, but that you must leave great latitude to the judges who are trained accordingly. The Continental system on the other hand leaves very small discretionary power to the judge. The Siamese Penal Code, as far as I have been able to judge from the papers, goes much farther than the Continental system in the direction of reducing the Judges to mere machines; to men who have to act in the way the Code dictates. My experience of criminals in Siam is this. They are not the criminal you get in London or Paris or Berlin; they are not the men who make crime a business. Most of the men who are brought before the criminal courts in Siam are men who are to all intents and purposes children, men without ingenuity, without education, and without any training in crime. There are practically no clever criminals in Siam. Practically they are infants because in their early years they have never received any training in character or knowledge. Surely then you must adapt your code to your criminal? The great objection to to the English system is this. If you get an incapable judge, the justice administered is bad; but fortunately in England we have by the system of appointing our judges from the Bar, obtained men who are perfectly capable of exercising a wise discretion without being tied to any particular section of a Penal Code. Proceeding, Mr. Naylor remarked, I can hardly believe the Siamese code will constitute a new era or that it can be compared in any way with the Code of Justinian which set an example to generations unborn. I think myself in this Code the Siamese and their advisers have been too ambitious. They have not been content to follow a good working Penal Code, which has borne the test of time in other Asiatic countries, but they have attempted to go one better, and to have a more elaborate Penal Code than any other country in the world. Therefore

we have these over-refinements which have been pointed out to us by Dr. Masao and Mr. Black. It is a great pity that this Code was not passed years and years ago, because the Siamese criminal law has been in a most hopeless condition for years past. Dr. Masao says the new Code does not include the punishment of whipping. I think myself, it is a great pity that it has been omitted from the new Code, because it is a punishment most peculiarly adapted to infantile intelligence, and I think the majority of criminals in Bangkok however adult they may be in years, are but infantile in intelligence. I must confess too, I have no sympathy with the scheme of deportation which the Siamese Government has formulated. I look upon deportation as a means whereby a State gets rid of its obligations. I do not like this scheme at all. Deportation is an inexact punishment; to one man it may mean happiness, to another starvation and the breaking up of family ties. Dr. Masao has insisted on the importance of finger prints. This is scarcely a matter for the Penal Code, but more a matter of evidence. The confidence to be placed in finger prints has been very much shaken of late, and in a trial in Australia not very long ago, it was demonstrated that two men who were before the Court had absolutely similar finger prints. I do not think Dr. Masao has done full justice to the English law in talking about conditional sentences, nor is it absolutely beyond all doubt that a second offender should be more highly punished than a first offender. I have heard of a Siamese judge who thought distinctly the reverse. I believe there is a case on record in the Siamese Courts where a man was brought to justice for having being out after dark in a certain village without carrying a lamp, and the Magistrate before whom he was brought inflicted the utmost penalty because it was his first offence, arguing that if he inflicted the heaviest penalty for the first offence the man would not offend again. Whether that judgment was upset on appeal or not I do not know. Again Dr. Masao has told us of the Code in so far as it refers to cumulative crimes or cases in which a man is charged at one time with various offences arising out of the same act. He seems to infer there is no provision in English law for such cases. That is not so; for in many cases, where several charges might arise out of one act, the prosecution is bound to elect to proceed on one particular act. I wonder very much whether the rules with regard to juvenile offenders will be found to work well.

In conclusion Mr. Naylor said, Dr. Masao gave us to understand that the Code has been drawn up with a view of including the Siamese and the stranger within the gates. Well, I do not know myself what the new Anglo-Siamese treaty may amount to, but if it places the individual British subject under the Siamese courts as they at present exist, then there must be some radical alteration. Mr. Black has referred to English law as if it were entirely uncoded. That is scarcely fair. Not only in civil law, but in criminal law, many of our statutes are to all intents and purposes codes of that particular branch of the law with which they deal; in fact one might say at the present time the criminal law of England is codified by statute. I personally hold the view that complete codification is not by any means a thing to be desired, and that we in England have gone quite far enough, and that it is very much better to allow trained Judges to deduct from general principles the law which should be applied in a particular instance than to compel the Court in every case to turn up a section of a code, and bind it by the text found there. The question of the responsibility of insane persons is one which jurists have discussed for many years past. I think that people who legislate in the way the authors of this Code have legislated, lose sight of the object which the State has in punishing a criminal. You punish a criminal in order to deter other people from doing what he has done, not as an act of revenge on the criminal himself. But judicial reform and improvement in Siam is not to come so much from the passing of new laws as from a revision of the method in which justice is administered, and by the placing of more thoroughly intelligent men upon the Judicial Bench. Until you can get His Majesty to recognise that the profession of the law is a profession as well worthy of reward as that of the Army or Navy, until you raise the salaries of your judges and make their position a position of high honour, no code which you may promulgate will ever make perfect the administration of either civil or criminal justice in Siam (applause).

Dr Masao replying to Mr. Naylor's query as to which language the code was drawn up in said it was drawn up both in English and Siamese.

Dr. Hillyard said he quite agreed with Mr. Naylor that they were under a disadvantage in not having seen a copy of the Code before hearing the paper. However, Dr. Masao had explained so

clearly the various important points in the Code that this disadvantage was to a very large extent obviated. He pointed out the importance of extradition treaties with the various Powers in the event of extra-territorial rights being given up. He said that too much emphasis could not be laid upon the fact that before the Code they must have a Judicial Bench able to deal with the Code. Whilst they had in Siam well equipped and most commendable training colleges for the Navy and Army, where there were competent instructors and a well planned curriculum, the study of law was practically in abeyance. Nearly all the law students were employed in the various government departments and consequently have little time to attend lectures or study law privately. There is no compulsion to attend the law lectures. There is only one examination necessary to pass in order to become a Judge. Hundreds of students present themselves yearly for this examination and only about 7 per cent. pass. There is no lack of law students but they are debarred from ever becoming Judges because they are insufficiently prepared to pass the necessary examination. The Judiciary is very inadequately manned and yet there are hundreds of men willing to become Judges, consequently the fault lies with the Law School. If Great Britain renounces her extra-territorial rights and British subjects are to be subjected to Siamese Jurisdiction the incompetency of the Judges may lead to very grave difficulties, and as the Code is drawn up both in English and Siamese it will be most important that every law student should understand the English language. In fact a knowledge of English should be a *sine qua non* in the law school. A knowledge of English will be of very great value in interpreting the Siamese version of the Code.

Dr. Hillyard concluded his remarks by saying that the very highest praise was due to M. Padoux, Dr. Masao, Mr. John Stewart Black and the other advisers who drew up the Code. It was one which would do credit to any nation. Great knowledge of the law combined with a thorough acquaintance with the exigencies of the people for whom the Code had been adopted must have been employed in its compilation.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LOPHBURI.

[Through the courtesy of H. R. H. Prince Damrong we are enabled to reprint a translation of the pamphlet on "Lophburi", which was issued by the Prince in 1905, and in which all historical information available was collected.

By reproducing this account it is hoped that, quite apart from its intrinsic value, it will form a fitting introduction to Mr. Giblin's paper, which it expands in that part dealing with the history of Lophburi.]

Lophburi was formerly called Lavo and in the annals of the North it is related that it was founded by King Kalavarnadis or the Black Tissa of Taksila in the Buddhist era 1011 (Ch. E. 468). In the history of Chama Dewiongs giving the history of Haribhunjai it is related that when Muang Haribhunjai (the present Muang Nakhon Lamphun of Monthon Phayab) was built in B. E. 1200 (Ch. E. 654) people asked for Nang Chaina Devi the daughter of Phya Chakr (or Emperor of Muang Lavo) to govern Muang Haribhunjai as chief.

If we compare these traditions with archaeological objects still preserved in Lophburi, it may be accepted that Muang Lavo was founded by a chief of a Khom people who established the city about 1400 years ago and it became the capital of the Kings who were Sovereigns of the princes established in the Menam Chao Phya Valley up to the Menam Khong in the North until about B. E. 1500 (Ch. E. 957). Then for some reasons not yet known the power of these Khom Kings gradually got less, and King Sri Dharmatraipitok the "Thai" came down from Chiang Sen and brought the whole of the southern country under his rule and he appointed his son, Chao Kraisararaja, Prince of Lavo. Since that time the Kings governed from either Ayodhya or Lavo as capital for about one hundred years until King Chand Joti governed in Lavo. He altered the name of the capital into Lophburi and he had to abandon the territory up to Monthon Phayab to Chao Anuruddha and to acknowledge the Sovereignty of Bhukam (Burma). After the death of King Anuruddha the princes of these parts became heads of independent states again in Phayab and Sukhothai, and Muang Lophburi most likely became at that time also independent, as it is stated in the Annals of the North that Phra Naresr the son of King Anuruddha went unsuccessfully to war with Phra Narayana the King of Lophburi. There were most likely a number of Kings governing for several generations. It is however stated in the Annals of the North that there was constant warfare, and

the country was deserted or became dependent on some power. When King Uthong founded Sri Ayoddhya with the intention of extending his dominions he appointed his son Ramesuen governor of Lophburi, a "Vice-Royal City", and it became an important city as of old in B. E. 1894 (Ch. E. 1351).

Krung Ayoddhya however became more powerful and its dominions extended and Vice-Royal cities were established at Muang San, Jainad and finally at Pitsanulok. Muang Lophburi became then a provincial town near the capital to which the Kings repaired for pleasure. In the B. E. 2200 (Ch. E. 1657) the King Narayana made Lophburi his residence during the hot and cold season, but it was only kept as such up to the death of King Narayana, as his successors abandoned it and lived at Ayoddhya only.

The city of Lophburi was in ruins for 150 years up to the reign of His Majesty Phra Chom Klao, who had the wish to establish a Royal Residence there. The old palaces were completely ruined, and only one hall the Chandravisal could be restored. His Majesty had therefore buildings re-erected for his own residence; and he restored the walls and gates, and constructed other buildings, which are kept up to the present time.

LOPBURI PAST and PRESENT

BY

R. W. GIBLIN, F.R.G.S.,

DIRECTOR OF THE ROYAL SURVEY DEPARTMENT,

SIAM.

LOPBURI PAST AND PRESENT.

Of all the ancient cities within the boundaries of Siam Lopburi, perhaps, presents to the enquirer aspects of greater general interest than any other.

Ayutia, Prapatawn, Nakawn Sritamarat, Sawankalok, Sukotai, Chiangmai and others, will continue to furnish for some time to come, ground for archaeological and historical research, but it may be doubted if any of the places named will ever contribute as much to present day investigation as the ancient city of La-wo, now called Lopburi, and this is so far the following reasons. Leaving out of consideration the history of the immediate past in Siam, that is, the last 126 years, in no other of the numerous capitals or important centres of Siam has there taken place such a meeting, one might almost use the word blending, of two civilisations, that of the East and that of the West. About no other town has so much been recorded by foreigners. No other cities can show at this date as many evidences of the blending referred to above. And lastly, for western investigators, La-wo must always stand out as the scene of one of the most interesting and thrilling pages of Siam's past history, on account of the reign of King Pra Narai, and the great revolution which took place there in 1688, when the Prime Minister, the Greek, Phaulkon, or to give him his Siamese title, Chao Praya Wichayen, met his death, and Pra Petaracha, the Master of the Elephants, came to the throne.

With the history of Lopburi up to the time of King Narai this paper does not attempt to deal. It is the desire of the writer merely to endeavour to present a picture of the town and its environs as it must have appeared at the time of that enlightened king, after Phaulkon had made use of his opportunity to add to the well-being and comfort of the inhabitants of the city and when he had in hand the idea of increasing its importance by making it the site of one of two observatories to be erected in Siam. Afterwards will come a short description of Lopburi as it is to-day, with the objects of interest it contains, and which may be seen by any one who may choose to visit the spot and seek out these places for himself.

In his short historical sketch of Lopburi, H. R. H., Prince Damrong has shown that the place was founded about A. D. 468. It is therefore a fairly old centre and has had time to become raised, as most old cities raise themselves above their former levels, but that growth in height has not amounted, as will be shown afterwards, to

anything very much, Rather, it may be stated, the surrounding country is somewhat low, and therefore the site of the town appears a little elevated. Previously to the period dealt with in the principal chronicles that are available, that is the end of King Narai's reign, 1685-1688, that ruler had caused to be carried out many works in his desire to improve and embellish the town. In a published translation of the Pawng-sa-wa-dan, or History of Siam, Reign of H. M. Somdet Pra Narai, by the Rev. S. J. Smith, a member of this Society, it is stated :—

“ In those days the King made frequent visits to Lopburi and enjoyed his excursions to the tank Sakew. The King had a palace erected in Lopburi and was delighted in visiting and occupying it. His Majesty likewise took pleasure trips to the forests abounding with every variety of trees and to the wild mountain scenery abounding in birds and beasts, and was enchanted with the romantic scenery of the region. H. M. gave orders to make the Canal Pak Chan from the tank Sa-kew which was well protected with stone slabs and cement, also a canal to serve as an aqueduct to convey water from the lake Chub-sawn into the Pak Chan canal and the tank Sa-kew. H. M. had a pavilion constructed there and visited the locality frequently, after which he returned to his palace. Lopburi was a delightful place and became noted for a palace that was there constructed.”

* * * * *

“ The King was graciously pleased to order the repair of the temples and their accompanying buildings and spires in all parts of Lopburi, and made them as substantial as when first built. H. M. was in the habit of spending the cool and hot season in that place and the rainy season in Ayutia, and thus enjoyed his prosperous and very happy reign in both places.”

* * * * *

“ Chao Praya Wichayen caused to be constructed a large quadrangular brick building and a circular building. These buildings which were his residences were enclosed with a very substantial wall. He caused to be constructed many brick arsenals, elephant sheds and foreign edifices not far from the temple Wat Pun. He did many things with a desire to acquire the sovereignty. His devices for mischief were many. The King was not insensible of his movements, but took no notice of them, as Praya Wichayen was very diligent and effective in the discharge of his official duties. In those days he compelled many of the priests to leave the priesthood and perform service for the Government. In those days the king was styled Somdet Pra Chao Yu Hua Muang Lopburi, as H. M. went to that city and reigned, and was graciously pleased to repair the forts, fortifications, look-outs and embankments of the city, as well as the

tanks and all that needed repairs was put in the very best condition. H. M. enjoyed vastly his residence in the City of Lopburi."

Besides the construction work enumerated above, it is worth noting that so much of his time did the sovereign spend at Lopburi, because of his great liking for residence there, that the name of the place became incorporated in his title. Later on in the same account we read that :

"H. M. then rewarded Praya Wichayen with an ivory sedan to be carried about in and gave him 300 bargemen as his escort to precede and follow him as he went about, and when in audience H. M. allowed him to sit on a cushion 20 inches high. H. M. bestowed on him many valuable presents and marks of distinction. From that time Chao Praya Wichayen's power was more absolute than ever and all his suggestions to H. M. were acceptable."

It was, then, to the ancient city of La-wo, with its old temples renovated, with many new buildings, (including the king's palace), in evidence, with a water-supply obtained from a newly constructed reservoir a couple of miles away, that the first French Ambassador to the Court of Siam came in the month of November, 1685.

This ambassador, the Chevalier de Chaumont, was too busily engaged on weighty affairs of state, and on functions and ceremonies and conferences, to have much time for descriptions of places, and in his published relation of his embassy he gives but a short account of Lopburi.

"Louvo where the King of Siam passes nine months of the year, for the enjoyment of hunting Elephants and Tigers, was otherwise an assemblage of Pagodas surrounded by terraces, but this prince has made it incomparably finer by the Buildings which he has erected there and as to the Palace which he has in this place, he has added considerably to its beauty by the waters which he had brought from the Mountains."

It is more interesting to turn to the account given by Père Tachard, one of the six Jesuit mathematicians sent by Louis XIV to Siam and China, who accompanied de Chaumont as far as Siam. Tachard made two voyages to Siam, as he appears to have developed into a kind of sub-ambassador or diplomatic missionary, and his second voyage to the East was made with La Loubere, the Envoy Extraordinary from Louis XIV to King Narai, who travelled from France in 1687 and returned in the following year.

This good father, whose simplicity and ingenuousness and firm faith in the possibility of turning the Siamese nation into Christians, one cannot help admiring, wrote a lengthy account of each of his voyages, and referring to Lawo he states :—

"Eight days after the King set out again from his Palace with the Princess and all his ladies to go to Louvo. That is a town fifteen or twenty leagues from Ayutia towards the North, where he passes nine or ten months of the year, because he is there more at liberty, and he is not obliged to shut himself up as he is at Ayutia to maintain his subjects in allegiance and reverence."

* * * *

"The Lord Constance who had seen the letters patent of "mathematicians" which Louis XIV had granted to the six Jesuits, had resolved to accord them a particular audience of the King at Louvo. He sent them notice to present themselves with their instruments. Two large boats were employed to transfer their baggage, with another of 24 rowers for themselves. They set out on 27th. November, 1685."

* * * *

"The Town of Louvo is in a situation very pleasant and in an air very healthy: its precincts are sufficiently extensive, it is thickly populated because the King makes there a long sojourn. There is an idea of fortifying it, and Monsieur de la Marre, a skilful Engineer, whom the Ambassador has left in Siam, has already drawn up a plan of fortification, which he had to make to render it a place stout and regular. It is situated on an elevation which discloses all the surrounding country, which is commanded on each side, and which is watered by an arm of a big River which passes at the foot. It is true that this River is only considerable during the inundation. But as the inundation and the rains last seven or eight months, the Town can only be besieged on that side, which is besides that, extraordinarily precipitous. The other sides are either swamps which can be easily inundated, or heights made in amphi-theatre, which it is proposed to include in the Town, and which serve as deep moats and earth-work ramparts proof against every kind of artillery. They will work on the fortifications of Louvo as soon as they have fortified Bancok, which is a more important place and, as it were, the key of the Kingdom of Siam. These works will soon be accomplished, because an immense number of workmen will be employed and the ground is not difficult to remove."

* * * *

"The Jesuits had a special audience with the King on the 22nd, of November, and were, as a great mark of distinction, not required to take off their shoes and stockings."

* * * *

"At a league from Louvo this Prince has built a very roomy Palace. It is surrounded by brick walls fairly high. The interior is made of wood only. The place is very pleasant on account of the natural situation. There is a large stretch of water which makes of it a

peninsula, and on this water the King of Siam has built two frigates with six small pieces of cannon, on which this Prince takes pleasure in going about. Beyond this canal is a forest, 15-20 leagues in extent and full of Elephants, Rhinoceros, Tigers, Deer and Gazelles."

The lengthiest account of Lopburi is given by Nicholas Gervaise, but he has devoted himself chiefly to a description of the palace and grounds. Gervaise was a Frenchman, and seems to have been engaged in commercial pursuits in Siam, having resided there for four years. His work, "Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam," was published in Paris in 1689.

It is of interest to note the different spellings of the Siamese name La-wo. Gervaise has it Louveau, most of the other French writers put it Louvo, in one of the maps published at the time Luvo is given. One may be forgiven for wondering how, with many foreigners resident in the country and acquainted with its language, a nearer approach to La-wo was not obtained. Gervaise also notes that at the time the Siamese were accustomed to give the place another name, which he spells Nocche-buri. The name Louvo, having once got into the maps, was, I suppose, held to be the best known and therefore the correct version. There is another Siamese name which the writers of the period seem to have stumbled over. The reservoir near Lopburi was known to the inhabitants as Ta-le Chup-sawn. This has been rendered as Thlee-Poussone or Tale Pousson or Tle Poussonne.

Gervaise's account of Lopburi is as follows:—It is somewhat long, as I have stated, but I think it should be given in full.

"Louveau, which the Siamese commonly called Nok-buri, is a town which is, so to speak, in the Kingdom of Siam what Versailles is in France. The Former Kings possessed there a Pleasure house, but it had been abandoned for over a hundred years when the present king rebuilt it.

"This town is situated in a plain which is not subject to inundation, is about half a league in circumference, in plan is almost square, and the enclosed space is merely land provided here and there with some brick bastions. During the high water season of the Country it is almost surrounded with water, at all other times it is watered only by a small arm of the great River, which is not sufficiently deep for big boats. Its situation is so pleasant and the air that one can breathe there so pure, that one never leaves it without regret; its distance from the Capital by the big River is 14 leagues, but by a Canal which the King has lately made, it is only 9 or 10 leagues.

"As this Prince is extremely fond of this place he passes there the greater part of the year, and neglects nothing at all which he

believes may serve for its embellishment. He has had some design for enlarging it, but he has thought proper rather to fortify it in order to make it a Place of defence; the interior is very clean and everything there is well kept up; if one does not see buildings as fine as in the Capital, there are to be found there gardens and promenades which are no less agreeable. All the commodities of life are found there in abundance, but as it is thickly populated, provisions are dearer than in any other Town in the Kingdom; good water only, during 4 or 5 months of the year, when the river is low, is wanting, for Horses and Elephants, which are bathed there, make it so dirty, that it cannot be drunk. At that time recourse is had to wells or to the water stored during the inundation in large earthen jars made expressly to purify it.

"The Palace that the King has recently built on the bank of the River makes a most beautiful ornament; it is not so grand as that at Ayutia, but is more cheerful; it is as well walled in, and its plan is long rather than broad; the part which looks on the Town is divided into three Courts, all different, each having its own beauties; one sees on the right, on just entering, a small hall where the criminals are tried for *leze-Majesté*, and two prisons very nearly the same in size where they are confined until the case is investigated and sentence pronounced.

"On the left is a large reservoir for the supply of water to the whole Palace; it is the work of a Frenchman and of an Italian more successful and more skilful in Hydraulics than several Foreigners who have worked there with the most expert Siamese for ten entire years without having succeeded in anything. The reward which they received from the King was in proportion to the service which they had rendered him, and to the earnest wish which the Prince had always entertained of having water in his Castle.

"Thirty paces from there is a Garden divided into four squares, facing a small Arbour extremely pleasing and as much so from the aspect of several fountains surrounding it as from the proximity of a Pagoda, which, though not extremely fine, nevertheless contributes to the charm of the place; a small grove which fills up the rest of this first court-yard, gives entrance to a second which is incomparably finer, the gate is between two Pavilions, which are intended to accommodate four Elephants of the Second Order, the shape is square; the high walls, which are of a dazzling whiteness, are ornamented with Moorish sculpture, extremely dainty and divided into small compartments, which on certain ceremonial days are ornamented with numbers of China Vases. Two small Halls, very low are at the entry opposite a main Building which has two pavilions on the right, where are accommodated, very much at their ease, Elephants of the First Order; one sees on the left a superb structure, above which rises a Pyramid, closely resembling that which is seen on the Royal Palace of the Capital Town. It is at

one of the windows of the central Structure, which is larger and higher up than the others, that the King gives Audiences to the Ambassadors of neighbouring Princes, During all the time that he is present there they stay in the two small Halls, face bowed to the ground, with all the more select of the Lords of the Court who accompany them. It is not so with the Ambassadors of the Emperor of China and of foremost Sovereigns, for they are conducted ceremoniously to the Audience hall which is under the Pyramid ; this Hall is only three or four toises long, by two wide ; it has three Door-ways, a large one in the centre, and one on each side ; the Walls are hidden with those beautiful Mirrors entrusted to the two Mandarins who came to France four years ago, and the lower end is divided into four equal squares, embellished with gilt flower-work skilfully worked up to date and adorned with certain crystals, which give it the finest effect in the world. At the further end of this hall rises to the height of four or five cubits a truly magnificent Throne ; the King ascends it from behind, without being seen, by steps from a private apartment against which the throne is set. It is there, so it is said, that the Princess Queen, his Daughter, dwells. As it is not permitted to any one to enter there, and as even the Ambassador of France has not been at liberty to view the interior, I can absolve myself from giving here any description of it.

“ A little further off, on descending fifteen or twenty steps is situated the third court-yard, where the apartment of the King is. It consists of a fairly extensive main Building ; gold glistens there from all sides just as in the second court-yard, and as it is covered with yellow glazed tiles of which the colour is very nearly like unto that of gilt, when the Sun is shining, one must have strong eyes to bear the glitter ; it is enclosed by a parapet wall, which has, at its four corners, four great Basins, filled with extremely clear water, in which His Siamese Majesty is accustomed to bathe, under the rich Awnings which cover them ; that one of these Basins which is on the right is near a small artificial Grotto, covered with ever-green shrubs and an infinity of flowers which perfume it at all times ; issuing from it is a limpid Fountain, which distributes its waters to the four Basins.

“ Entry to this Apartment is only permitted to the Pages of the King and to such Lords of the Court who are most in favour with him ; other Mandarins remain at the parapet prostrated towards the great Carpet where the King gives them Audience, leaning on a window from which he can be heard ; other officers stay at the foot of the parapet lying on matting, face to the ground, and sometimes even removed by more than a hundred paces from His Majesty.

“ Around this parapet are buildings of small suitable Chambers, where the Pages are lodged, and the Mandarins who are on guard. And a little further off on the left is a parterre filled with the rarest

and most curious flowers of the Indies, which the King takes pleasure in cultivating with his own hands; from there is seen a very large Garden which faces the building; it is planted with large Orange-trees, Lemon-trees, and several other Trees of the Country, so bushy that they give shade and coolness at full mid-day; the paths are bordered by a little brick wall breast-high, and here and there one sees Lamps of copper gilt, which are carefully lit on those nights when the King is at the Castle, and between two Lanes there is a kind of fire-box or Altar where they burn quantities of pastilles and of scented wood, which spread their perfume far and wide.

"Considering all this can one be astonished if His Siamese Majesty has such a liking for his House-of-pleasure; the ladies also have their extremely fine apartments in a long gallery which runs behind that of the King and of the Princess, from one end of the Court to the other, and this is what makes access so difficult which is even denied to children of the Kings, only the Eunuchs who are in attendance having the freedom to enter there, and it is only by the exterior that one can judge of the interior; the rough Plan which I have very hastily drawn of it only allows me to give some idea of it, because I was in the company of people who could not give me the leisure to make a better one."

In La Loubere's account of his mission to Siam, published in Paris in 1691, he refers shortly to Lopburi.

"To Louvo (where it is possible for him to maintain in a lesser degree his dignity as a Monarch) he goes very often, either to hunt tigers or elephants, or to promenade, and he goes with such little display that when he goes from Louvo to his small house at the Tale-Pousson with his Ladies, carriages are not provided for the women servants, such transport being held as a mark of honour."

* * * *

"At Louvo the waters are still more unwholesome than at Ayutia, for all the river does not pass there, but only an arm, which turns that way, and always runs down after the rains and finally dries up.

"The King of Siam drinks the water from a large reservoir made in the country, which is always guarded. At that place this Prince has a small house called "Tale Poussone"..... a league from Louvo. It is situated on the edge of certain low lying country extending for two or three leagues which receives and conserves rain waters. This little sea is of irregular shape; its banks are not lined or made out straight, but its waters are wholesome, because they are deep and settled, and I have heard tell also that the King of Siam drinks them."

* * * *

Of all the French diplomats, officers and priests who voyaged to Siam in the two years 1685 and 1687, the most critical and perhaps the most level headed was the Count de Forbin, a naval lieutenant, and Major of Embassy, whom M. de Chaumont left behind in Siam at the urgent request of the King, instigated thereto by Phaulkon. Of the same party the most amusing was the Abbe de Choisy, a kind of Coadjutor Ambassador attached to the first mission. Both of these have written accounts of their experiences in Siam, but neither of them has much to say about Lopburi.

Forbin, who was made governor of Bangkok, and who had a very poor opinion of the sincerity of M. Constance, as he calls Constantine Phaulkon, even accusing him of trying to cause his death on several occasions, mentions the fact that when the King went to the country or went hunting, he always provided for those who followed or accompanied him. With regard to Lopburi he says :—

“After the departure of the ambassadors I returned to Louvo with M. Constance. Louvo is a country residence of the King of Siam ; this prince uses it as his ordinary dwelling place, and only goes to Ayutia, which is about 7 leagues away, very rarely and on certain ceremonial occasions.”

The Abbe de Choisy, amongst the writers of the period who described their voyages and impressions of Siam, stands in a class by himself. He kept a journal of the events of each day from the time he left France in March, 1685 till his return in 1686, This was published in 1686 and gives an unconscious revelation of his character. Although somewhat irrelevant to the subject in hand I cannot help giving here an extract concerning this extraordinary man, which appears in the published Voyage of the Count de Forbin to Siam, 1685-1688.

“The Abbe de Choisi passed a part of his youth dressed as a woman, under the name of the Countess des Barres ; he was even engaged for several months as an actress at the Bordeaux theatre.”

“He was converted after an illness and thereafter wrote only pious works.

“He says that the desire to convert infidels caused him to make the journey to Siam ; he had another motive of which he says nothing. This was the necessity for evading his creditors. He got himself ordained as a priest by the Vicar Apostolic of the Indies, during that voyage. He attached himself afterwards to the Cardinal de Bouillon, and died at the age of 80 years.”

* * * *

"The narration of M. de Chaumont was not a success. Father Tachard, a fairly good mathematician but a very bad diplomat, cared only for the propagation of the faith, and accepted as gospel truth all the vain imaginings of Constance. The journal of the Abbe de Choisi, written with a style and fluency, has all the attraction of a romance, and in fact it is nothing else, for M. the Coadjutor of Embassy, who brought himself in four days to a state to receive holy orders at the hands of the Bishop of Metellopolis, Chief of Eastern Missions, was too frivolous and too idle to observe matters well, and too little scrupulous not to adorn his account at the expense of truth. The narration of M. Forbin, which we publish, is much the most interesting and appears to be the more credible."

In an account of Lopburi as it was at that period it would not be right to omit some further reference to that wonderful man, Phaulkon, wonderful whether we regard him as a statesman, adventurer, religious zealot, or an aspirant to the throne. Several accounts of his life have been written, but it will suffice if we take the impressions of his character as given by the last two writers mentioned, both of whom were brought into intimate contact with him. Forbin sums up his character in this wise:—

"We do not know the kind of death which M. Constance suffered. Those who were in Siam during the revolution maintain that he bore all his reverses with true Christian feeling and with a courage really heroic. Notwithstanding all the evil he has done me, I will acknowledge, in all good faith, that I have no difficulty in believing what they have said of him. Mr. Constance had a mind great, noble and exalted: his was a superior nature, and one capable of the highest schemes, which he knew how to guide to their completion with much prudence and wisdom. Fortunate if all these fine qualities had not been obscured by great faults, above all by an excessive ambition, by an insatiable avarice, which was often even sordid, and by a jealousy which, taking offence for the most trivial reasons, made him hard, cruel, pitiless, untrustworthy, and capable of any detestable action."

The Abbe de Choisi wrote of Phaulkon as follows:—

"M. Constance was a man of the world, of good understanding, liberal, magnificent, resolute, full of big ideas; and it may be that he wished to have French troops to try and make himself king on the death of his master, which he saw drawing near. He was haughty, cruel, merciless, and was possessed of an immoderate ambition. He supported the Christian religion because it could strengthen him, and I would never have trusted myself to him in matters in which he was not to make his profit."

Of these two statements one would elect, I think, to take that of M. Forbin as being, in all probability, at once the most credible and that dictated by the greater sense of fairness.

Phaulkon's death at Lopburi is described in a History of M. Constance, written by a Jesuit father.

"They made him mount an elephant and took him well guarded to the Tale-Poussonne. When they had arrived at the place of execution they made him descend to the ground and told him that he must die."

* * * *

"Then an executioner advanced and with a back handed stroke of the sword having cut him in two caused him to fall on his face, dying and heaving a deep sigh, which was the last of his life.

"Thus died in the flower of his years a famous man, at the age of 41 years."

In a description of Lopburi the following extract from Pepys' Diary will not be out of place.—"17th. of August, 1666."

"With Captain Erwin, discoursing about the East Indys, where he hath often been. And among other things, he tells me how the King of Syam seldom goes out without thirty or forty thousand people with him, and not a word spoke, nor a hum or cough in the whole company to be heard. He tells me the punishment frequently there for malefactors, is cutting off the crown of their head, which they do very dexterously, leaving their brains bare, which kills them presently. He told me what I remember he hath once done heretofore; that every body is to lie flat down at the coming by of the king and nobody to look upon him upon pain of death. And that he and his fellows being strangers, were invited to see the sport of taking a wild elephant; and they did only kneel, and look towards the king. Their druggerman did desire them to fall down, for otherwise he should suffer for their contempt of the King. The sport being ended, a messenger comes from the King, which the druggerman thought had been to have taken away his life. But it was to enquire how the strangers liked the sport. The druggerman answered, that they did cry it up to be the best that ever they saw, and that they never heard of any prince so great in every thing as this King. The messenger being gone back, Erwin and his company asked their druggerman what he had said, which he told them. "But why", say they, "would you say that without our leave, it being not true?"—"It makes no matter for that", says he, "I must have said it, or have been hanged, for our King do not live by meat, nor drink, but by having great lyes told him."

It is worth while studying a little a Map or Plan of Lawo, which was made by French officers who were stationed in Lopburi

at the period under discussion. This map is an enlargement from a small scale map which appeared in one of the historical accounts of the period. We see at a glance the manner in which the town, as it existed formerly, was laid out. The King's Palace, the royal gardens, the house of the French Ambassador, the various temples, the house where the Jesuits were lodged and where they took some of their astronomical observations, Phaulkon's garden. The positions of all these places are shown. It is to be noted that at the time the map was made Phaulkon had evidently not yet built his palace, as there is no mention of it in the list given on the map.

From all the foregoing descriptions by visitors to the town we are able to get a very fair idea of Lopburi at the time of King Narai. It is noticeable that everything centres round the court and the person of the king. The books from which quotations have been made show elsewhere that there was very little security for private possessions at that time, that few cared to amass wealth, and that the punishments meted out by the monarch were severe and often degrading. Essentially Lopburi was the summer residence, the holiday resort and resting place of the king, and naturally, therefore, its well-being was influenced by the pronounced predilection he had for passing his time there. Placed by his position so immeasurably above his subjects and endued with such supreme power, it is not surprising that he should leave his mark, in no small degree, on his favourite city.

With a full reservoir and the waterworks in working order, the gardens of the palace might well have deserved the praise bestowed on them by Gervaise, but no one mentions whether the water brought from the reservoir was ever available for the general body of the residents. Gervaise, as we have seen, states that when the water in the river was low, the people had recourse to wells and stored water, so that that it would seem that only residents in the palace benefited by the reservoir.

It will have been noted that frequent references are made to the great amount of hunting indulged in by the ruler of the country and the names of the animals with which the district teemed are given. Judging from the difficulties which big game seekers of the present day experience in securing even a few deer, one cannot help thinking that the large decrease in the number of game might well form a subject for investigation, unless indeed the truth lies in the fact that those who wrote about these large numbers of wild game did not inquire very closely, and were misled in this matter as many others, new comers to a country, have been since then, with regard to questions not easily verified.

We have now to consider a little the town of Lopburi as it is at the present time. Five hours in the railway train will take us there, so that we escape the arduous boat journey by river formerly necessary. The cadastral survey of the Royal Survey Department furnishes us with a plan of the town and district, and enables us to locate to some extent the places referred to by the old French writers. Besides this a few photographs, which will be thrown on a screen, will give some views of the present condition of the temples renovated in King Narai's time, and of the houses built by Phaulkon, as well as other points of interest.

Behind the railway station and quite close to it stands the Wat Na-pra-tat, which is well worth inspecting, though wandering through this is not always easy, as the jungle grows thickly about the temple and is only occasionally cleared away. I feel sure that if Praya Boran, the High Commissioner of the Province of Krungkiao, could have his way, this wat and every other one worth seeing in his domain, would be fit to be seen with ease throughout the year.

Not far away from Wat Na-pra-tat and quite close to the railway line, the most interesting building in Lopburi is to be seen. This is Wat Sam Yawt or Prang Sam Yawt and it is somewhat curious that none of the French writers seem to have noticed it particularly. The main building is supposed to have been built when La-wo formed part of the Khmen kingdom, the headquarters of which were at Angkaw. At any rate the ancient part, which is cyclopean and of stone, is of the same style as Wat Angkaw. Tacked on to this fine old monument of early Cambodian art there is to be seen a modern brick building, fortunately in an advanced state of ruin, and likely, as time goes on, to dissociate itself more and more from the stately pile that has weathered the centuries so much better. It will be noted from the photograph how little the style of this brick construction is in keeping with the other, and the form of the arch would seem to place its date of erection at the time of King Narai.

Mr. P. A. Thompson, in his work on Southern Siam-Lotus Land-wrote of this wat as follows :—

"The most interesting remains at Lopburi date from the earlier period of its history. The railway runs right through the old town, and just beyond the station there stood for many years a dense thicket. Unsuspected among the trees lay buried an ancient temple, but the trees have now been cut down, and the old stonework freed from the clinging embrace of the creepers. The temple is of the Hindu type, and was built during the supremacy of the Cambodians in Southern Siam. It is in fact identical in style with the sanctuaries which are found farther east, in Cambodia itself. It consists of three small cubical chambers, entered through low square doorways, and surmounted

by blunt spires-possibly dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The chambers are connected by short covered galleries. All this lower part is built of fair-sized blocks of laterite, laid upon each other without cement, whilst the lintels and door-jambs are sandstone monoliths, beautifully fitted. The galleries and chambers are roofed in with great slabs of laterite which project one beyond another, and the upper courses of the spires are overlaid with cement.

"Whatever may have been the original dedication of the temple it was at some early date converted to Buddhist uses, for the galleries are full of life-size images of the Buddha, very finely carved in sandstone and with sevenfold hooded cobras rising fan-like behind their heads."

Nearly opposite to and across the railway line from Wat Sam Yawt, that is to say, on the east side of the line, there is another wat which is worth a visit, chiefly, however, as affording an elevated position from which to view its larger and more important neighbour.

Passing on towards the river we come to the remains of Constantin Phaulkon's house. It is difficult to reconstruct from these the manner in which the house was arranged when in its finished state, but there can be little doubt, judging by the evidences to be seen there, that one of the apartments formed a private chapel, that in which, as the Jesuit fathers narrate, the prime minister, his household and co-religionists were accustomed to worship. Tachard refers to this chapel and states that it was consecrated by the Bishop of Metellapolis under the name of "Our Lady of Loretto." It is worth noting that the form of the windows of this house have influenced the construction of the adjacent building, which is of quite recent date.

We are told in the Tam-nam Muang Lopburi, already referred to, that after King Narai's time, the city was in ruins for 150 years up to the reign of H. M. Pra Chawm Klao, who had the wish to establish a royal residence there. The old palaces were completely ruined, and only one hall, the Chantara-pisan, could be restored. His Majesty therefore had buildings erected for his own residence, restored the walls and gates and constructed other buildings which are kept to the present time. We can therefore revisit the hall of audience where the French ambassadors were received; of the gardens, which filled so important a part of the earlier picture, nothing now remains, but it is well worth while to wander round the walls and court yard, even as they are now, to try, with some effort of the imagination, it is true, to depict for ourselves the scenes as they must have presented themselves to the earlier visitors. Some of the fountains, canals and bathing places are still to be seen, but the ever flowing waters from the reservoir and the carefully kept flower beds are sadly wanted to assist us in our task. Nevertheless, for those who have the opportunity to do so, the thing is worth a trial.

One of the photographs represents one of the gateways of what is called the city wall. Seen through the gateway is the principal pra-prang of Wat Na-pra-tat. It is doubtful if Lopburi was ever circled by a city wall on the landward side. Of a high earth embankment, the construction of which helped to form the moat surrounding the city, a great part is now to be traced. Properly built bastions and gateways, both of brick, are to be found, and the most probable theory is that the continuous brick walls to form the embattlements between the bastions on the top of the earth embankments were never completed. A bastion on the north side of the town and containing a water-gate for a water channel leading from the reservoir is well worth a visit. From the top of this a fine view of the country to the north of Lopburi is obtained, but a visitor is advised that, owing to the depressed nature of the country, in the high water season it has more the appearance of a lake than cultivated land.

Making now a short excursion into the country, less than a league will take us to the Tale Chup-sawn, the reservoir built by King Narai. Reference to a map made up by sheets of the cadastral survey will show just how this small artificial lake is situated with regard to the town. It must be remembered that to the east the ground slopes upwards to form a low range of hills running north and south. These hills, with the somewhat striking and jagged peaks of the hills near Prabat, may be seen from the northern railway line. The reservoir is enclosed by a heavy earth embankment, nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long. This bank is about 12 to 18 feet high, and the area available for the storage of water is roughly one square mile. Mr. Irwin is of opinion that the probable depth of water, when the tank was full, came to not less than nine feet and a half, deeper in some places and less in others.

A line of levels run from the old reservoir to the palace shows, as was stated earlier in this paper, that the city proper of Lopburi is not particularly elevated. The floor of the reservoir near the southwestern corner and the palace grounds are about on the same level and the beds of two of the old fountains of which the remains are still to be seen are raised above the ordinary ground level. It is probable, in Mr. Irwin's opinion, that the water intended for these fountains and for the bathing places in the royal gardens was pumped up to some elevated cistern in the palace grounds, being distributed about the various ornamental receptacles.

Within the reservoir and near the western embankment on a small elevated piece of ground stand the ruins of the King's country residence. It was here he took part in the observation of an eclipse of the moon, recorded by Father Tachard.

Near the south-west corner of the reservoir there are two water gates, which can be seen at the present time. From these the water was led in open channels to a settling-tank, Sa-ra-kao, whence when purified it flowed through earthenware pipes to the palace. There is another sluice-gate to the north, but it is uncertain whether this was used merely as an overflow or was an opening into a channel leading to the city by another route. There is indeed, in connection with this old engineering work, plenty of room for further investigation, and who can tell that in the near future, such further investigation, conducted perhaps with the object in view, may not demonstrate the feasibility and desirability of once more setting the channels flowing for the benefit of the population, at present small, but soon certainly to be far greater, of the ancient city of La-wo.

In conclusion I beg to return my best thanks to our President, Dr. Frankfurter, for his assistance and advice, and for the loan of most of the books consulted ; also to Mr. A. J. Irwin, who conducted the cadastral survey of the district and to whom I am indebted for much of information about the old water works of La-wo.

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ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING, 23RD, JULY, 1908.

DISCUSSION ON MR. GIBLIN'S PAPER.

An Ordinary General Meeting took place on the 23rd, of July, in a room kindly lent to the Society by the Committee of the Bangkok United Club, when Mr. Giblin read his paper on "Lopburi Past and Present."

The President Dr. O. Frankfurter, was in the chair, and in opening the proceedings said :

The vicissitudes of the history of a country are best shown in the history of its capital towns, The aim of the modern historian is to extract from these old chronicles the history of the country, of which it formed part. In Siam, through causes which are well known, such chronicles are not preserved, or at all events have not yet been traced, and in reconstructing the history of Siam we are mostly dependent on foreign writers, the prototype of the modern globe-trotter, and like him, in most cases biased and little reliable, further on traditions. Amongst the towns which play a foremost part in the history of Siam is the ancient city of "Lophburi," and Mr. Giblin has undertaken, I hope I may say, the grateful task of collecting what is known about it, in ancient writings and has added to it, information which he and his staff have personally gained with much labour.

Mr. Giblin then read his paper, and at its conclusion a dozen lantern slides were shown to give clear views of some of the more important ruins and spots of interest in Lopburi, including the ruins of the palace built by Praya Wichayen or Phaulkon.

The President in moving a vote of thanks said :

An always grateful task is to move a vote of thanks, and more specially if it so well deserved as that to Mr. Giblin for his interesting paper. The task which Mr. Giblin with the materials at his disposal has set for himself was not an easy one. The French writers had all their own axes to grind, there were jealousies and intrigues amongst them, and it is impossible to arrive at a clear understanding of the events of Lopburi which led to the Revolution of 1688, as it is called from their writings. The Phongsavadan on the other hand, interested only in what affects the Royal family, passes over that part of Siamese history in a very cursory way, and treats the figure of Constance

Phaulkon as the hero of a semi serious novel, is silent on the French Missions to Siam, whilst the Siamese Missions to France are treated as fairly tales. Moreover there are serious discrepancies in the dates given in Siamese History and the French records. We have throughout to do with amateurs. Phaulkon himself an adventurer and an amateur statesman undertook, perhaps instigated thereto by other amateurs like Choisy, to meddle in high politics of which he knew nothing. Vainglorious and overbearing, he had naturally to succumb to Fate which was greater than him.

But interesting as all that is, it has nothing to do with Mr. Giblin's paper. Mr. Giblin has shown us what Lopburi was at the time of King Narayana, and what it is at the present time, but it is sincerely to be hoped that from the source at our disposal the often given promise may be carried out and a history of the Revolution in Siam in 1688 be written.

However that may be, I am sure one outcome of this paper will be that a renewed interest is taken in Lopburi and perhaps even this Society may at an early date arrange under able guidance an excursion to it.

Mr. W. R. D. Beckett, in seconding the vote of thanks, said : It was not an easy thing to write a paper on places in Siam or famous in the history of the country, because the literature in connection with them was scarce. In this particular instance, Mr. Giblin was favoured because Lopburi was mentioned by the old French writers some of whom had been mentioned by him. These writers had portrayed a state of things which was extremely interesting, containing many accounts of the people and life of Siam in those days. One French account stated that there were as many as forty one different nationalities living at Ayuthia. These included Portuguese, Moors, Indians and Japanese. People were apt to forget that there was a considerable immigration of Japanese into Siam in the early years of the 17th. Century. In or about the year 1632, this immigration ceased, owing to the general prohibition imposed by the Emperor of that day against emigration of Japanese to foreign lands. There still, however, remained in Constantine Phaulkon's time a small band of Japanese surviving from the earlier emigrants, and these made themselves useful to King Narai, especially in building, architecture and gardening. Then again, in studying the history of Lopburi, it was useful to remember the fact that Mergui and Tennasserim and Tavoy were in King Narai's reign provinces of Siam, and that there was considerable intercourse overland between Ayuthia and those places. In fact, Père Tachard recounts how, on his second voyage to Siam, he and his party travelled overland from Mergui to Muang Pran and thence to Bangkok, partly by land on elephants, and partly by boat.

Mr. Beckett referred more in detail to the French writers whose accounts included references to Lopburi, and said he would be pleased to lend any of the books he had brought with him that evening to members of the Society.

The water levels were a very curious thing, and when he was at Lopburi three years ago, he wondered how they managed in the old days. Mr. Giblin had said Mr. Irwin's opinion was that the water was pumped up and distributed to the required places by pipes. One of the old French writers mentioned that the water was not raised in any way, but that the ground inside the palace was lower. He said expressly there was no means of pumping. It was necessary, in order to understand exactly the history of Lopburi, to read the French writers on the subject, otherwise they would be at a loss to arrive at any explanation of the palace there.

Mr. Michell, who said that he had spent some three months in Lopburi during 1906, regretted that he had not made better use of his opportunities whilst there of studying and exploring the ruins. He could, however, assure Mr. Beckett with regard to the water supply to the Palace that the difference in level between the floor of the reservoir and that of the fountains within the Palace was scarcely appreciable, something under six inches, so that Mr. Irwin's theory as to some pumping apparatus having been used was probably correct.

He had often visited what remains of Phaulkon's palace and had been much interested in the ruins of what was evidently the Christian Chapel which adjoined it. The building was cruciform in shape-following the lines of the Greek Cross rather than the Latin, showing that Phaulkon was probably faithful to the rites of his own native church rather than those of Rome. The chapel was apparently surmounted by a tower or belfry at one time, and the remains of an altar could still be seen in the eastern arm of the cross, now however occupied by the symbols of another faith.

Mr. Freye added a version of the manner in which Phaulkon met with his death, his story being that he was killed at the gate of the palace by Siamese soldiers.

The President pointed out that there were many different versions of the death of Phaulkon. He was killed either going to the Palace or later on. The writers did not agree on this point or with each other. He was dead, that was all they could really say now.


Mr. Homan van der Heide said that he had heard the name of the town pronounced in different ways, such as Nockburi, Nopburi, and he enquired whether there was any agreement about the right pronunciation and also about the meaning of the word.

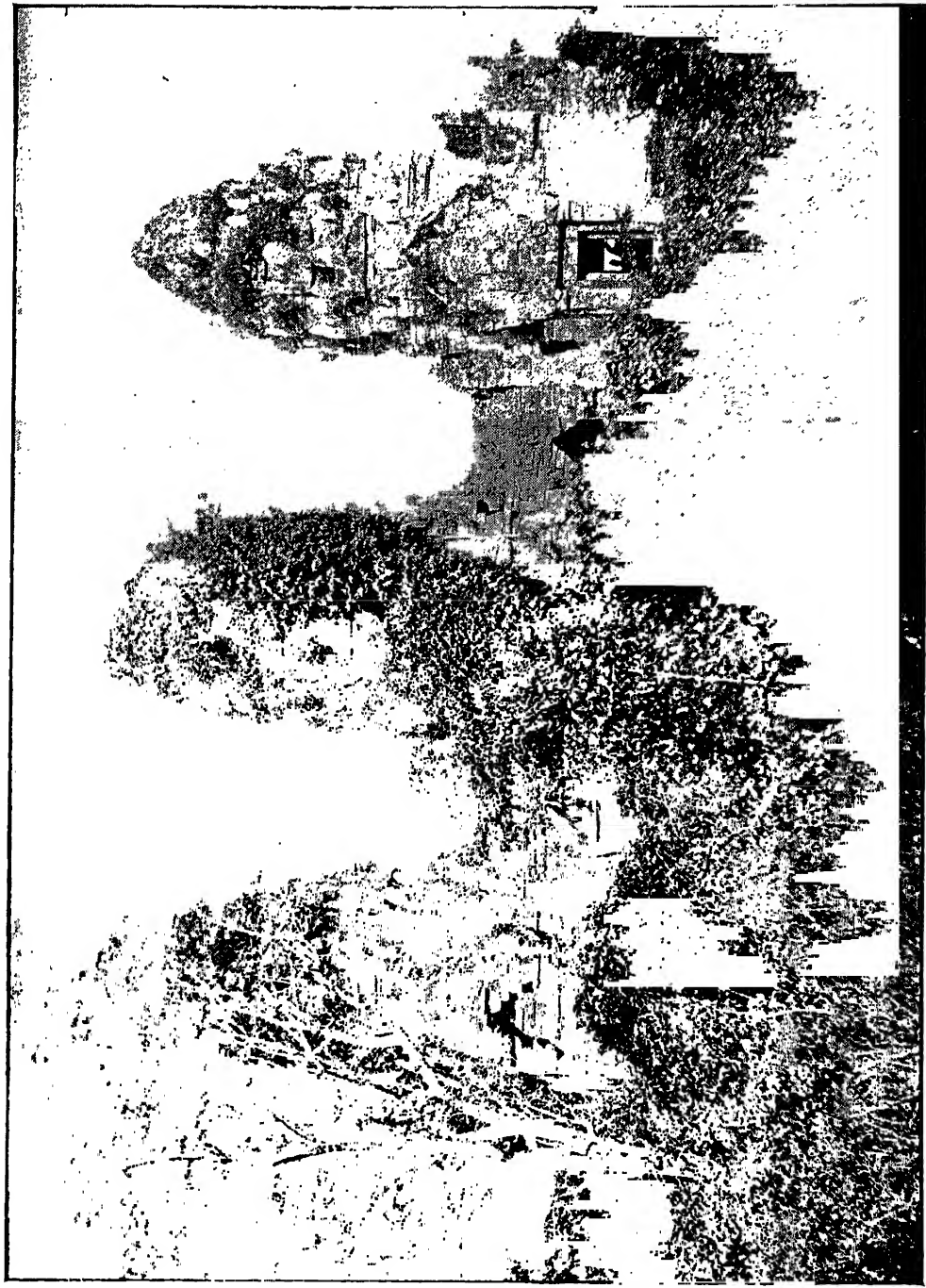
The President said: With regard to the name of the ancient city of Lavo it was of interest to recall what the late monarch, King Mongkut, had to say about the matter. He had laid down the law in no undecided way in the following words:

The name of the town is certainly Lopburi as it is derived from the word Lavo; but at the present time people living in temples boasting of their knowledge and superiority write over learnedly Muang Nophaburi. Whatever it is, New Town or New Fortune Town or the Town of the nine Excellent qualities or the Town of the nine gems or whatever nine or new else, what are they thinking about careless and thoughtless like kittens; let nobody believe it, let nobody either call or write anything else but Lopburi.

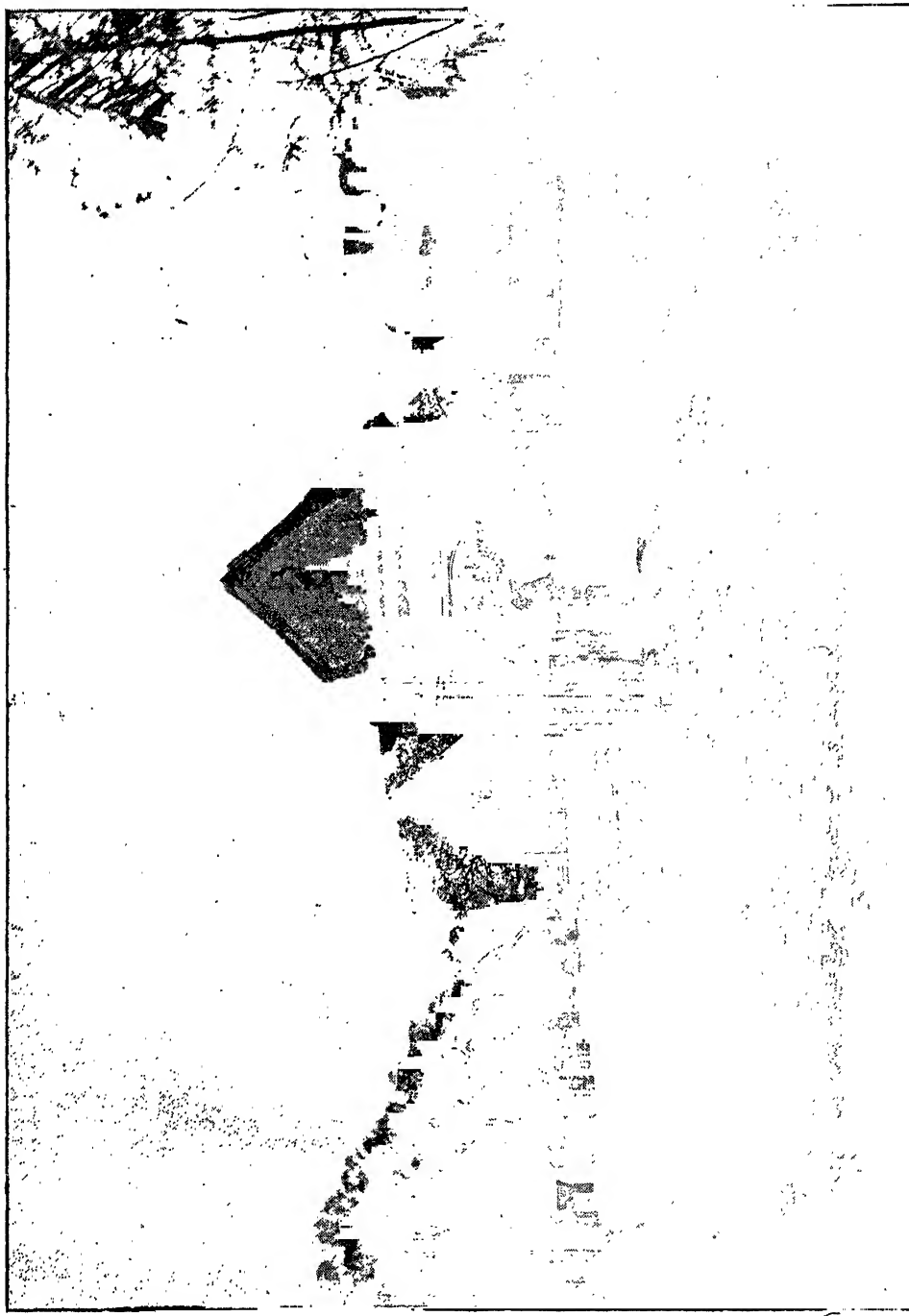
The President proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Groote for the help he had given in arranging and exhibiting the lantern slides; this was seconded by Mr. Giblin, who stated that this had been a labour of love with Mr. Groote.

The meeting then terminated.

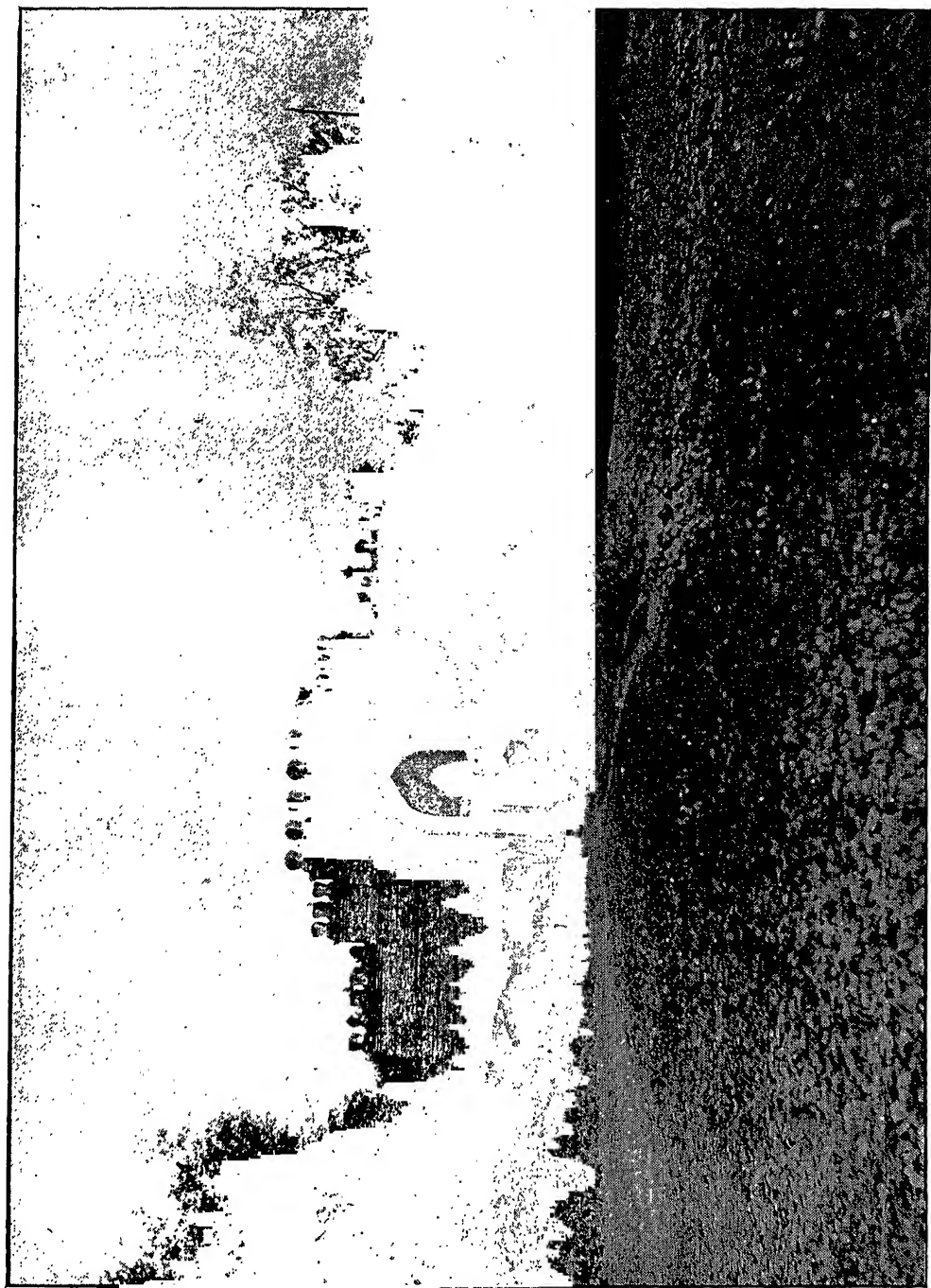




WAT SAM YAWT, LOPBURI.



RUINS OF PHAULKON'S HOUSE, LOPBURI.



CITY GATE, LOPBURI.



THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
SIAM SOCIETY.



VOLUME V.

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—:0:—

(FOUNDED 1904.)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science
and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring
countries.

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, THE CROWN PRINCE OF SIAM.

VICE-PATRON:

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, PRINCE DAMRONG RAJANUBHAB.
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SIAM IN 1688.

TRANSLATION OF AN EARLY NARRATIVE

By O. FRANKFURTER, PH. D.

The events which led to the overthrow of Phya Vijayen (Constance Faulcon) and the consequent departure of the French from Siam, in 1688, in the reign of Somdet Phra Narayana are somewhat obscure. Contemporary Siamese records have not been found, and it cannot be denied that the history which was compiled in 1795, and afterwards revised by Somdet Phra Paramanujit in 1840, treated the events as far as Constance Faulcon and the French Embassies were concerned more in the light of an interesting tale than as history.

The French records were all written from an individual standpoint; and it can be seen from these records that dissensions frequently arose amongst the French and that, for the most part, each pursued a policy for his own ends. The chief actors are best described as amateurs. This is especially the case with Constance Faulcon himself, who by nature clever, but uneducated and unscrupulous, became vain-glorious and overbearing in dealing with affairs of state which were beyond his grasp and control, and he brought upon himself the contempt and hatred of most Siamese without gaining the love or esteem of the foreigners. Phra Phetracha, sober and unscrupulous, placed himself at the head of the discontented party and thus at the death of Phra Narayana had no difficulty in regaining by vigorous measures that independence for Siam of which Faulcon and the French Missionaries and Envoys apparently had tried to deprive it.

The narrative of which I give a verbal translation in the following pages, and to which I have added a few notes to show, from Siamese sources, the personal status of the Siamese concerned, is said to have been written by Desfarges, who commanded the French troops in Bangkok.

The publisher's preface states how the MS. came into his hands, but we are justified in looking upon this statement with a certain suspicion. Whilst there is no doubt that the narrative is a true contemporary record, it was in all probability written by a Dutchman, attached to the Dutch factory in Ayuddhya, who had the greatest interest in preserving as far as possible the monopoly of the trade which would have been seriously interfered with if the French had succeeded in establishing themselves in Ayuddhya and gained a paramount influence there. He would thus try to make the acts of Phra Phetracha appear in as favourable a light as possible. A Dutch translation of the report appeared in 1692, and we have to look upon this as most likely the original.*


That Desfarges could not have been the author is made clear from the facts recorded by Lanier, who states in his *Etude historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam*, page 174 :—

“Some weeks later (*i.e.*, after December 5th, 1689) Desfarges (who had retired from Bhuket to Bengal) received from the Court of France his letters of recall. L'Oriflamme was starting for Europe convoying two vessels of the India Company, the *Lonre* (? *Loire*) and *Saint Nicolas*, with rich merchandize. The officers and two hundred soldiers embarked on these with their commander in the month of March, 1690. The passage was wretched, illness broke out amongst the passengers, and *Desfarges and his sons*, the Captain de Lestrière, de la Salle and half of the crew succumbed.”

I have given as an appendix a translation of a letter

* Aamnerklijk en Naaukeurig Verhaal der Staats-Omkeringen, Nu Laatste in't Jaar 1688, in Siam voorgefallen. Bevattende de geledene smaadheden in, en't uytduyven der Franssen uyt dat Rijk. Uit het Handschrift van den Oppergesaghebber der Franse aldaar, Door A. v. H. in't Nederduits vertaald. Tot Leiden Bij Frederik Haaring, 1692.

said to have been written by an officer of the French garrison to one of his friends regarding the state of religion in Siam. The letter is a proof that even at that day persons drew largely on their imagination when a political purpose had to be served. The writer speaks in the introduction about several letters written which had also been replied to. Now considering that Laloubère, in whose suite the officer must have travelled, arrived in Siam on September 27th, 1687, and left again on February 3rd, 1688, and that the French occupation of Bangkok ceased about September, 1688, it is difficult to understand how letters could have been received and answered.





A NARRATIVE
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS WHICH TOOK PLACE
IN SIAM

In the year 1688.



AMSTERDAM
PIERRE BRUNEL NEAR THE EXCHANGE
M. D. C. LXXXI.



ADVERTIZEMENT OF THE PUBLISHER.



After so many accounts which have appeared about what has happened in Siam, I have thought it would be agreeable to the public, to communicate the one which has fallen into my hands, and which contains many remarkable details. I hope that it will be the better received as no report is at hand on the part of the French to show what induced them to retreat from the Kingdom of Siam: and the impatience which is felt regarding it, cannot be better satisfied than by an account published by the General commanding the French troops, who himself gives an account of the proceedings in which he took a conspicuous part. There is no necessity of explaining how this Manuscript has fallen into my hands. It is sufficient to say that I reproduce it just as I have received it, with exception of some clerical errors which have been corrected: and I have no doubt that the judicious reader will readily be assured of its correctness from the original features which he will find in this work.





A NARRATIVE OF THE REVOLUTIONS

which took place

IN

SIAM

in the year 1688.

—:o:—

People will no doubt be surprised to hear of the strange Revolutions which have taken place in the Kingdom of Siam, and to learn that the Frenchmen have left it a year after their arrival, notwithstanding the promises given by the Court regarding the stability and safety of their establishment.

Experience has clearly shown us, that it was not possible to depend on the goodwill of a King, whom a mortal illness was bringing to the grave; nor on the good intentions of his successor, who was very unstable; nor on the precarious fortune of *Sieur Constance*, who moreover had not all the credit and authority which he was believed to have; nor yet on the good disposition, respect and love of the people towards the French. Indeed have we not seen them, on the contrary, full of hatred and fury in order to ruin us? I thought it my duty to write an account of what has happened myself, as no one better than myself could know why I adopted the course I have taken; and it was not feasible to communicate it to many people, who however will not abstain from writing what they think about it.

One will find, as this narrative proceeds, crowns overthrown, two Princes¹ and an adopted son of the King² assassinated, the loss of the house and the life of *Sieur Constance*,³ several great Mandarins in chains, a Siamese cleverly mounting the throne, finally the whole Kingdom with a great number of foreigners taking up arms against us to kill us by open force, after having tried in vain to do so by all

sorts of tricks. One will see, moreover, in the midst of all these strange revolutions the name of our great King feared even in this furthest corner of the world; and a handful of Frenchmen nearly without supplies, without ammunition, and without means of getting either, in a wretched place badly fortified, in the midst of the mud, of nearly continuous rains, and of numberless other hardships, resisting a whole Kingdom, which had shut them in, and which was finally compelled after a siege of five months, in spite of the resolution taken to destroy them, and in spite of the help rendered by foreign nations, who had come for the same purpose, to submit to the necessity of supplying them with ships and provisions to enable them to retire.

But above all it is necessary to make known the state, in which the Court of Siam was when I arrived, in order that the changes which have taken place may be more easily understood.

The King of Siam seemed to me always to have been full of consideration for our August Monarch, whose heroic actions delighted him in the accounts which were given to him. This Prince surely showed in his face the signs of greatness, and of a distinguished mind: he naturally appreciated foreigners more than his own subjects, whom he ever treated with a little cruelty; and this made him more feared than loved in his Kingdom. Although he was only 54 years old, he was nevertheless attacked by an illness, to which it could easily be seen he would succumb.

Two Princes, his brothers, were those who according to the customs of the Kingdom had to succeed to the throne, as the King had no son. The eldest one was deprived of the use of all his limbs: the younger feigned deafness, in order not to expose himself to the loss of his life, on the first suspicion which the King could have against him. They were both perfectly united; the elder voluntarily ceded the whole Kingdom to his younger brother owing to his infirmities; but neither of them was in the good graces of the King; they did not take part in any affairs, and they saw scarcely any one but their own servants.

The King of Siam had a daughter,⁴ who as rumour had it was secretly married to the Young Prince, although the case is not quite clear. This Princess who was twenty-eight years old, was of a proud and haughty disposition, attached to the Religion and customs of her ancestors; she had also retired from the Court on account of the dissatisfaction expressed to her by her father, and she hated *Sieur Constance* in consequence, because she believed him to have been the cause of it.

Prapié, the adopted son of the King, whom some people, without ground, however, pretend to be his natural son, was most in favour with his Prince. It is even apparent that the King would have left the Crown to him, if he could: but as he was of low origin, his partisans in such an event would have been only very few: neither the Mandarins nor the people who knew of his origin would have recognized him against right and justice due to the princes, who were well liked.

Amongst all the other *Grandeés* of the Court, was one who could be easily distinguished, and who appeared to me, from the first time I saw him, to have something distinguished and grand about him much above the others. His name was *Opra Petcheratcha*⁵; his family was one of the oldest and most distinguished. He was a foster-brother of the King and about his age. Some even say that he was of the Real Royal race, from whom the father of the Reigning King had taken away by force the Crown. This Mandarin had acquired, by the love he manifested towards religion, the respect and universal affection shown to all *talapoins*, of whom there are a great number and who enjoy great credit amongst the people, who moreover saw in him a truly Siamese heart full of respect for the nation, and of contempt for the others. As he was, however, a great statesman, he took care not to show openly the intention which he had at heart, and which he would reveal in due time. He knew how to dissimulate before his Prince his true feelings, affecting always in order to avoid all suspicions a desire for a secluded life, and to be relieved from all affairs, and constantly refusing for himself, and even for

his son, the most considerable offices and dignities, to which the King wished to raise him. He enjoyed in spite of that not less consideration. He was always of the first of the Council, and had more easily access to and more credit at the Court than the *Sieur Constance*, who was believed to be all powerful, and who on his part always tried to persuade us thereof, in lowering as far as he could the authority of all others so that he alone should be esteemed and trusted.

Nevertheless, although he was in great favour with the King of Siam, because this Prince found him alone capable to treat with foreigners, by reason of the great knowledge he said he possessed of all their customs and of all Courts of Europe; there were a great many mandarins who held higher office and had a greater authority, to whom he had to make the "*Sombaie*" that is to render them on all occasions homage, and he could not, as they, enter into the Chamber of the King, unless he was called.

In truth this foreigner had a lively and wide spirit capable of many matters, and given to large enterprises. His conduct was very pleasant, if he wished it to be so; his conversation was very agreeable, and he knew how to show his value before the King, from whom he had got a considerable fortune, considering the resources of the country. It took time to get thoroughly acquainted with him; later on I found in him want of straight-forwardness, and sincerity, also an unmeasured ambition, and too great an aptitude to get offended and to prosecute those whom he believed looked down upon him. This attracted to him the hatred of all these people and of most of the foreigners.

This in few words what appeared to me most remarkable at the Court of Siam, for the understanding of what follows.

With regard to the French, I had in Bangkok only about 200 soldiers with their officers. *Monsieur de Bruan* was at Mergui with three of our best companies: and after his departure I was obliged to hand over thirty-five of our best men, with three or four officers, to be placed on the

vessels of the King of Siam, sent in pursuit of some pirates according to an order transmitted on his part by *Sieur Constance*.

Of the small number left to me, there were still a number sick, and sickness diminished their numbers day by day. And yet at the place in which we were, work on the fortifications had just been started, and these were so large that we wanted at least 1,200 men to guard them well. I had wished that no such great place had been taken, in order that we might be better under cover, and better in position to defend us against anything which might happen to us. I could not, however, persuade *Sieur Constance* to change his design, which he had formed before our arrival: however much I insisted on having workmen, and however much trouble I took myself, in spite of my age and the heat of the sun, to be always on the spot to see that the works were progressing, there remained to be finished, when matters became serious, two bastions, two curtains and one cavalier. I had furnished myself with 2,000 palisades which were of great use afterwards: but not a single one had been erected.

In the month of March the King was in worse health than usual, and nearly unable to attend to affairs. *Prapié* then tried to play a part and to gather together some people who were devoted to him. *Opra Petchrachas* on his part, who had taken measures long ago and who had in his hands the Mandarins, who kept the roll of the people, also secretly collected in the Pagoda in the neighbourhood of Louvo as many people as he could. It was not difficult for him to attach to himself nearly all the Kingdom, as far from making known his true design, he always asserted that he wished nothing more than to retire to some temple with the *Talapouns* to live there, he said, a solitary life: but he also insinuated to the people, that before doing so he would use all his mind and all his strength and even his life, if it were necessary, to place the Princes on the throne which belonged to them, and that he knew that *Prapié* and *Sieur Constance* intended to deprive them of it. To gain all hearts

he spread rumours throughout the Kingdom that the French had only come to destroy the Royal Race, their religion and their customs, in subjecting them to Prapié and to Sieur Constance who would become the second in the Kingdom if the thing succeeded. It was easy for him by these artifices to place all the great and small people in his party and to excite them strongly against us, as moreover the Princes, the true heirs of the Crown, regarded him always as a faithful subject, who was only actuated by the zeal he showed for them, and who regarded Prapié and Sieur Constance as their greatest enemies.

Sieur Constance, from whom a great deal of what occurred could not remain hidden, in spite of the good temper which the great Mandarins always showed to him to humour him, sent me in the middle of April an order on the part of the King of Siam, to proceed to Louvo with the best part of my troops. I started from Bangkok with seventy men and five officers, very much troubled about the rest of the garrison, which I was obliged to leave behind in such a small number. As soon as we arrived near Siam, through which place we had to pass in order to proceed to Louvo, all gates were closed and everything was in uproar as if their greatest enemies had arrived. I heard at once from the Bishop of Metellopolis, from the Abbé de Lionne and from Sieur Veret, the head of the French factory, that a public rumour was about that the King of Siam had died, that everything was in arms in Louvo and on the roads, that there was a runour of arresting Sieur Constance, and that many things had happened to the greatest disadvantage of the French. There was news also, I heard, that a number of soldiers had gone down to Bangkok, with a view, it was said, to assassinate the French who were there.

On hearing this news, I did not deem it wise to continue on my way. I stopped, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Siam and I wrote at once to Sieur Constance about the said rumours, which were publicly spread stating that I thought it better for his welfare and for ours that he should himself come where I expected him, in order to offer our

services to the Princes, the true heirs of the Crown, who were both in the city of Siam, and that we should thereby dissipate the suspicions which people had against us.

But whether *Sieur Constance* did not believe the evil so great as it was, or whether he was no longer in a position to retire from Louvo, or whether he had an understanding with *Prapié* (as it is was said that he was in agreement with him afterwards), he did not listen to my advice, and I returned, therefore, after his reply, at once to Bangkok, in order to try to keep the troops whom the King had done me the honour of entrusting to me.

The future has shown that I could not have acted otherwise unless I had taken a bad and unjust part and without the almost certain loss of everything French in the Kingdom. For it has been proved by enquiries I made of two Siamese Mandarins, whom we had in our hands, that at the time when *Sieur Constance* wanted us to come up, *Pitrachas* was entirely master of the Palace and had at his command more than 30,000 men both in Louvo and on the roads, not counting the forces of the Princes who were then joined with him against the other party, which evidently *Sieur Constance* wanted me to join, without venturing to declare it to me.

Opra Petrachas, seeing that we had returned to Bangkok, and that it was not easy to gain us over as long as we were not divided, tried every imaginable means to oblige the two Princes and the Princess to come to Louvo, in order to have them in his hands. It was of the utmost importance to him that these Princes and the French should not come together: and this made him try everything to have all of them well disposed towards him. It was impossible for him to go on into these matters as long as the Princes remained in the city of Siam, of which they were masters, and the French at Bangkok, since mutual help could easily be rendered, and would have been given on the first suspicion raised by him. Such suspicion, moreover, would at the same time have destroyed those which he raised against us. He therefore sent several mandarins and wrote several times to the Princes inviting them to proceed to Louvo, asserting that the King,

(who, it is true, was not yet dead, but was unable to act owing to the state to which his illness had reduced him), wanted to see them and place one of them on the throne during his life time; that it was of great consequence that they should not lose time but should proceed to Louvo to take there before the whole Court the oath of fidelity, in order not to let Prapié have an opportunity to advance his affairs to their prejudice; and that as a faithful subject, zealous for their service; he had put the things in such order that there was nothing to fear for them.

The Princes hesitated much to render themselves to these pressing prayers, not on account of any mistrust they had at that time of Pitrachas, but because they were entirely Masters of the City of Siam and they did not know how far they would be it in Louvo, where Prapié and Sieur Constance were, from whom they expected some regrettable incident. This made them much more eager to make their public entry in the Palace of Siam, in order to proclaim the young prince as King, and then to enjoin the mandarins who were at Louvo to come and recognize him. That was also much in accordance with the desire of the Princess, who was or should have been his wife. And certainly it has been shown afterwards that this was the only means they should have adopted; but they could not resist the urgent prayers made to them by a man whom they considered the most faithful, the most equitable and the most disinterested in the Kingdom.

The young prince then proceeded to Louvo together with the Princess. Opra Pitrachas had sent them a large and fine escort on the road: he received them with all marks of possible submission, made them the first Sombaie, and had it rendered to them by all great mandarins. It is said that only Prapié and Constance were not eager to render it, and that this latter having come sometimes afterwards, the Prince would not receive him.

It is quite probable that Pitrachas, seeing himself Master and sure of those who could aspire to the Crown, intended waiting for the death of the King, which was likely to take place soon, before taking any action. But having

received information that Prapié, who saw the bad state in which his affairs were, had called in some troops of armed men to brave his fate, which could only be fatal to him under the sovereignty of the princes who were incensed against him, this clever politician took at once this pretext, to make the princes and the great nobles agree to have him arrested, and thus get rid of him: and he asked for nothing better in order to show his pretended zeal than to take it upon himself. He lost no time, and although Prapié was then in the apartment of the King, which he scarcely ever left owing to the services which he rendered the King during his illness, Opra Pitrachas by some device cleverly attracted him to the door, and from there by violence, had him massacred on the spot without heeding the request, which the dying King made on his behalf, on whose mind it weighed heavily that one of the Kingdom whom he liked most was treated in such a way.

This first action of the tragedy having been completed Opra Pitrachas seized the opportunity of arresting Sieur Constance. He gave orders that nothing should be made known of what had passed in the Palace, and sent him word on the part of the King to proceed to the Palace. Sieur Constance who knew nothing of what had taken place, and who nevertheless feared that some regrettable incident might take place, asked three French officers who were at Louvo, amongst whom was my son the chevalier, to accompany him. As soon as he had entered the Palace Opra Pitrachas approached him with a number of armed men, of whom there were plenty at Court, took him by the arm, and in a harsh and contemptuous tone told him, that he arrested him for having conspired with Prapié against the Kingdom and misappropriated its funds. At the time he spoke to him, there were several people with drawn swords, ready to strike him at the first word of command of this mandarin. The French officers who expected nothing of that sort asked him what he wanted them to do for him; but he replied that they should not do anything, and even hand over their swords, for which they had been asked. Pitrachas had at that time enough presence of mind, to see that

it was important that the French should not know the bad will he bore against them. He commanded therefore that they should be taken to Thlée Poussonne,⁶ which is a Royal Pleasure house, one league distant from Louvo where they should be taken care of: and he had them accompanied to that place by the Mandarin, who had been second Ambassador in France, in order to make them understand that they were treated in that way for their own safety, in order that the people being irritated against the foreigners and Sieur Constance might not commit any excesses against them, for which the Court would afterwards be sorry.

He hesitated not in making known at once the arrest he had made, and that everyone might know of it, he had Sieur Constance promenaded by his side on the Palace walls, followed by the "Painted arms" whom they employ, when they wish to arrest anyone. Then he had him sent back to be fettered with five iron chains, and securely guarded in the Palace itself, where he could not be seen by anyone nor have communications with any of his friends. He underwent torture in various manners, in which according to the common rumour, and the deposition of two mandarins he was compelled to admit that he had an understanding with Prapié, and that he had dissipated and sent out of the Kingdom large sums of money from the Royal Warehouses. Everything which he knew about the affairs of the foreigners was extorted from him: after that he was cut into pieces. His house was pillaged, his wife and nearly all his relations were tortured cruelly in different ways to extort from them knowledge about his goods. There remained then three Mandarins of that party: Opra Pitrachas did not want them to escape, and he gave such good orders that without striking a blow at them they were all three put in chains on the night following the arrest of Mr. Constance. One of them who was in Louvo had already prepared to escape: but he was stopped on the road, and the two others in their houses, without the least alarm being caused thereby.

After having succeeded in destroying this party, which enhanced his credit and authority through the skill by which

he had so easily accomplished it, he tried now to find means to destroy the French, whom he considered as the greatest obstacles against his intentions. He had not succeeded in making the elder one of the Princes come to Louvo, who appeared even to have become suspicious owing to the prayers and often repeated solicitations of the mandarin: this also did not please the second prince and the princess who could not fail to have their suspicions aroused: this compelled Pitrachis in order that this suspicions should not take root, which might be of prejudice for him, to cease writing more about it to the elder Prince, and to take moreover in the presence of the second prince and the mandarins an oath before an idol, which was brought before him: *that he recognized and would always recognize the princes as his true masters, and that he would only act in their service.* Thereby all suspicions against him were dispelled, and this put him in a position to act more than ever. Thus although the life of the second prince and the princess was in his hands, the prince who was still in Siam might give together with the French trouble, so that he did not venture to strike the blow: and that it was which determined him to make use of the hatred, which he himself had raised against us in the heart of the princes, of the mandarins and of the people, to incite them all to combine to our ruin: he made them understand that the Kingdom would not have peace unless we were destroyed. We were told that the Princess was the first to approve of this design, of which she has since then repented.

Before resorting to open force, which Pitrachas found a little difficult to do, he wanted to use his cunning and then to conquer us by his mind, as he said: and thus he always dissimulated before the French, what he had in his heart, in order that they might easier fall into the trap, which he set for them.

A day after the arrest of Sieur Constance, he had written to the Bishop of Metellopolis and to Sieur Veret, *that as a matter of fact, certain disturbances had taken place at Louvo, and that the King has had Sieur Constance*

arrested for a crime which he had committed against the State. but that was all and His Majesty had commanded him to inform them that he had nothing against the French nor against the Christian religion, and that they should not trouble about anything. Two or three days after that he wrote a second letter to the Bishop and the Abbey de Lionne, in case Monsieur de Metellopolis should be unwell. The Abbey de Lionne having gone up had heard with astonishment, that all Frenchmen, who were at Louvo had been arrested, and that all other Christians, Siamese Peguans Portuguese and others were very badly treated in the jails and that when the Siamese Mandarin who had been first Ambassador in France paid him a visit a few days after his arrival he expressed to him his astonishment and asked for reasons: this mandarin who was one of the most devoted partisans of Opra Pitrachas and who had been made Barcalon for the services he had rendered in all matters, attributed everything which was done against the Christians to the hatred of the population and assured him that he would release them all: but with regard to the French, they were only treated so on account of the consideration which the Court had for their persons, and that they should not be liable to be insulted. He released in fact on the spot all prisoners, and when soon afterwards the Abbé de Lionne went to the Palace, the great Mandarin received him very well in the middle of the magnificent Court; where other Mandarins were nearly all prostrated before him; but after many compliments, he declared that it was the intention of the King that I should proceed to Louvo: that in truth the King did not blame me for having returned to Siam, in consequence of the bad rumours which were current, that he also knew that since that time I could not have come on account of an illness, from which I had been suffering which had also induced him to send me his doctors to show his esteem and consideration he had for my person: but now that he knew that I was well that I should no longer delay to obey the orders of the King who sent me for that purpose the two Mandarins who had been Ambassadors in France⁷ in order to honour me, and to show

to all the world how much he esteemed me, and how great a friend I was: adding afterwards that if I would not go up, I would give by my refusal a just suspicion of an enterprise against the State, and that regrettable incidents might happen: whilst everything would go well if I would proceed: that he believed that I would make no more difficulties and that he would whilst waiting for me always retain the Chevalier my son. The first ambassador added in another visit which he paid to the Abbe de Lionne, that the King has had arrested *Sieur Constance* for some crime, and also because he did not satisfy the foreigners, and that he had the intention of placing my eldest son in his place, and that for that reason it was necessary I should remain for some time with him in Louvo, in order to initiate him into the affairs, that this was one of the principal reasons why I was asked to come up.

But whatever means they adopted, it was evident that matters did not proceed smoothly and I admit that I hesitated very much what action I should take with regard to the propositions made to be by the Ambassadors who had been in France. I should have wished that they had been content with the refusal I made on behalf of my son for the offer which was made to him: but they insisted absolutely that I should come up and the Abbe de Lionne whom the Mandarin had compelled to accompany them, also urged me to do so in view of the state in which matters were. On the one hand I saw well the danger in which I placed myself in their hands; on the other hand I could not refuse to go up without breaking off everything and we were not at all in a position to sustain a siege being without provisions, without any fortifications in the Place, which was moreover open on all sides.

After having taken everything into consideration I thought it was both due to my honour and my duty to expose myself and my two children to all dangers: trying by this mark of confidence to remove all suspicions and to keep the troops, which appeared impossible by all other means. I found moreover that in thus exposing myself I had two

advantages: the first to show to the whole earth the good faith of the French, which might perhaps have been a little suspected by my refusal to go up: the second to gain always some time, in which to get provisions, prepare the guns, erect pallisades, and to put the place generally in a less dangerous position. I therefore summoned Monsieur de Verdesal who was in charge after me, and I gave him all necessary orders for the public good, adding in the presence of the officers, that I knew well the danger to which I exposed myself in going up: but also that in refusing to go up, the danger which would follow my refusal was both more general and more certain; that I recommended him to do his duty well in my absence, and that he should rather see me and my children hanged, if things would come to such a pass, than to surrender the place which I entrusted to him until my return.

Opra Pitrachas having learnt my intention, sent me a beautiful litter to be carried more comfortable, and other convenient vehicles for those who accompanied me. I met at the gate of Louvo a mandarin who saluted me on behalf of the King and invited me to go straight to the Palace. This appeared to be a bad omen and led me to believe that I was to be arrested. I passed through several courts filled with armed men, and was at first very well received by the Grand Mandarin, (this is how Pitrachas has had himself called at that time) in the hall, where he gave his audiences, but after some compliments about the honour which the King my master has bestowed on me on account of my merit, about the love of the Siamese, which he said I had entirely gained, he asked me in a conversational way, *if I was truly the Master of the officers and soldiers who were at Bangkok and whether any one dared to disobey me*. I answered him without knowing at what he was driving, that discipline on this point, was very exactly observed in the armies of the King my master, and that it was necessary that all should obey the very first word of a commander.

Very well, he said, I am satisfied. The King has sent you orders to come up with your troops: why then have you come up alone with your son? I was much astonished

at such a proposition, and more so when the first Ambassador, whom I believed would bear witness, that he left me at liberty to go up alone or with as many people as I chose, stated on the contrary that he had urged me to come up with my whole garrison. I knew then that it was a preconceived game and I had scarcely any hope to get out of this bad scrape. Very well, said the Mandarin : *it was a misunderstanding: it is only necessary that you write at once to all your officers and soldiers to join you. You have assured me that not one would dare to disobey you.* I answered without taking into consideration the danger in which I was, that if I would be in the Place, it would be done as I said : but that a Commander out of the place had according to our customs not the right to give any commands : and that before leaving it, I had asked the first Ambassador to inform me whether the king had any orders to give me, so that I might have then executed before my departure : and that certainly Mr. de Verdesal would not obey any of my orders unless I was present. The Abbé de Lionne who had accompanied me, and who saw the danger in which we were, approached the first Ambassador, and told him that everything was lost if I was retained : that Monsieur de Verdesal, was a man who would not listen to anything, and would carry things to the utmost. I believe that this had the effect of changing their minds : they believed it was more expedient to send me back, in keeping my two children as hostages, for the promise they had exacted from me, that I should bring up all troops with exception of the sick ones, imagining that I would not fail to do so, as they were the Masters of the life of my two children. They proposed then to me an fictitious war which they said they had with the Accas and that as I had come for the service of the King of Siam, they would give to all Frenchmen an opportunity of gaining glory, that they would join some of their troops, and that they would give to me as a very experienced man the command of the whole army : but in order to be in a better position to beat the enemies it was necessary to write to Monsieur de Bruan to join me with his troops at a place they would indicate.

It could easily be seen to what this would lead : but it was difficult to find means to avoid it. I had proposed to them, that if they had any suspicion against us, I would beg the King to give us ships to be able to retire from the Kingdom and thus to deprive them of all umbrage : but no other answer was vouchsafed to my proposition than that it was necessary to commence by calling up all troops, and that afterwards one might give us the boats we asked for, if we would not prefer to render previously against the enemies of the State, the services which the King had asked from us. Afterwards they sent me the draft of a letter which I ought to write to Mr. de Bruan, which had been drafted by Pitrachas himself in Siamese, which being translated word by word into French, would make nonsense, and this would show to Mr. de Bruan that I was arrested and that our affairs were in a bad state : and thus I was induced to accept and write it with all their Siamese manners, with which the great Mandarin was satisfied however clever he was, but he was not acquainted with our manners, and imagined that what he had written in a good Siamese style would also make good French.

I then heard at Louvo, to increase our trouble, a bad turn which the affair of our French who had been retained, had taken and who after the departure of Monsieur l'Abbé de Lionne and the Siamese Mandarins, being afraid that I would not proceed to Louvo, had decided to do their utmost to reach Bangkok. They took for that purpose horses at Louvo, went with all possible speed 5 or 6 leagues from that place, seized a boat, and some Siamese to row it, and overpowered three or four body guards, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Siam where they found themselves surrounded by nearly eight hundred men, who had come together to arrest them. Some mandarins approached them and gave them their word that nothing would be done to them, if they would give up their arms, and that the Great mandarin had only sent after them to bring them back to Louvo, not knowing the cause of their flight. This induced them not to defend themselves, seeing moreover that they would be defeated : but the Siamese seeing this, treated

them in the most ignoble and cruel way possible, stripping them putting rôpes round their necks, and taking them back to Louvo, attached to the tails of their horses, which they frequently caused to run, without respect for my own son the Chevalier who was one of their number, beating them with sticks and partisans in order to compel those who had fallen down after such a treatment again rise: one of them died in this way on the road. They had them afterwards exposed at Louvo to a multitude of idlers for three hours: and these fellows spit in their faces, and did all imaginable outrages to them.

This story, of which I had heard somewhat vague rumours in coming up to Siam, made me judge about the very bad state of our affairs from this extreme hatred which animated their people against us. I did then my utmost to hasten my return to Bangkok, and was compelled to sacrifice my two children whom I was constrained to leave as hostages in order to proceed as the more quickly, where I believed my presence was more necessary for the honour of the King and the public weal.

I met on the road the Bishop of Metellopolis, whom the great mandarin had compelled to proceed to Louvo under the pretext that the King wanted to confer with him on important affairs. His intention was to get hold of the Bishop's person, in order to send him to Bangkok, some time after me, so that if, in spite of all the reasons which he had advanced, and the hostages whom I had left with him, I failed to decide as he wished he could threaten me with the lamentable consequences which would follow my refusal. For he told him already at the first audience quite distinctly, *that he believed, indeed, that I would come up with the troops: but that he intended sending him after me to explain, that if I did not come up he would attach to the cannons mouth himself, his Missionaries the Fathers and all Christians; but that on the contrary all would go well if I would come up.*

This precaution was nevertheless useless to him. We took our decision on Whitsunday, immediately after I had

arrived in the fortress of Bangkok. Having explained the true state of affairs to all the officers, and the bad treatment which our people had undergone, as well as the other current rumours, we decided unanimously rather to die than to fall into the hands of these barbarians.

We took therefore all precautions to put ourselves in a defensive position, working at the gun-carriages, erecting palisades and putting guns at the places most necessary. I intended to send some one on board a Chinese vessel belonging to the King of Siam which was passing before the fortress, to see whether they had any provisions for sale : but having only received an outrageous and impertinent answer I ordered to fire at it some gunshots, which prevented the vessel from proceeding on its annual voyage.

On the evening of the same day I gave orders to abandon a fort, which was on the other side of the river, as it was impossible for us to keep it, and I commanded the officer who was in charge, to set aside what we were going to keep, all the ammunition which was there, and to demolish all the merlons of the embrasures, to explode all guns, and to spike those which would not explode. There were 18 pieces pretty well made which exploded, and the rest were spiked. There was a large 110 pounder which would not burst, although all pains had been taken. The Siamese, however, were not slow in unspiking them, having a particular aptitude for this work and they put them in position. We then burnt a village which was near to our fortifications, and seeing two or three days afterwards that the Siamese were working at the fort which we had abandoned, and only seeing a very small number of them I sent a Captain, a Lieutenant and an ensign with thirty men in two boats to try to dislodge them and to see that the fort was so well destroyed, that they could not use it any longer. But scarcely had his detachment arrived in the middle of the river, when they found that this fort, and a large wall which joined it, were full of armed men. Our people would nevertheless not return without doing some damage, although they saw that the chances were not equal. They

landed and were exposed to the fire of the army, and six of them mounted on the fort, when after having killed six Siamese they retired owing to the number. Not a single Frenchman was left within the fort nor on shore; two were killed in the boats, and two or three were wounded.

We then opened a heavy fire against this same fort, in order to prevent them from building a cavalier on which they were working, and which would have entirely uncovered the whole of our place. We had the pleasure of destroying several times all their works, which they were persistently erecting, although they lost a great many people. The fire which was opened on our side did not prevent them either to load and to fire against us the guns which they had unspiked and those which they had got from Siam with the mortars and bombs, which we did not expect, and they did not cease to fire for three or four days: and thereby we stood in great fear for our magazines and other houses, which were only covered with leaves.

Not a single night passed, in which they did not raise false alarms to harass us, and thus our whole garrison was always on the alert. Every night they lit matches on the one side or the other, so as to deprive us of all means to get quiet or to surprise us at last after so many false alarms. It would be difficult to describe the extremity of the fatigues which we had to undergo both by the frequent alarms, and by the work which was nearly continuous and by the want of food, and in the way which the mosquitoes attacked us, which is certainly very cruel. Then also rains were constantly falling, during which we had to fear surprises: for the firearms would have been useless and one could not have distinguished a Siamese at the distance of a space.

It was at such regrettable time that three Siamese soldiers entered our camp, who by different charms with which they adorned their bodies believed themselves to be invulnerable, and who had undertaken to burn our houses and our magazines. One of our sentinels was wounded by

them without seeing them. They were, however, shown that our arms had more power than their charms. One died on the spot, The second one died in the ditch, and the third one was able to undeceive those who believed in those charms. We remained thus the first ten or twelve days without being able to have the slightest news of what occurred and in the belief that all Frenchmen had been attacked and perhaps also the other Christians, hoping only to defend us well and to prevent that we should fall alive into the hands of this cruel nation : for we could not receive help from outside, nor could we retire, nor could we get terms from the enemy.

Under these circumstances we resolved to risk a small bark belonging to the Company, which had put into port in Bangkok. I sent it under the Command of the *Sieur de St. Crick*, lieutenant, with nine soldiers, with a view of trying to get out of the river, and to find out whether they were any means to find out two Siamese vessels manned by Frenchmen, which had been sent out two months ago to look out for pirates. The difficulty and danger in going down the river was very apparent, but in desperate affairs like ours one had to risk a great deal. This bark, after being fired at by some cannon shots from the fort of the enemy, went out of our sight, and afterwards it was so vigorously attacked that our people could not prevent it being boarded. *Sieur de St. Crick* was a man of extraordinary piety but his virtue did not in the least diminish his courage, and he in order to defend himself did all that a gallant officer could do, and finally set fire to a quantity of powder and to all the grenades which he had spread about on board, to disperse the crowd which was surrounding him. The boat having run aground and a great number of galleys having surrounded it, so that there was no hope to get out of the difficulty, *Sieur de St. Crick*, having offered some prayers, shut them all up in the chamber. When the boat was filled with Siamese, who came on board from all sides, and when he saw that more would come on board, and that they were delighted with their pretended victory, he set fire to the powder, and thus the bark and all Siamese who were in it were blown up,

and most of them died together with him. This generous action astonished this nation more than one can say, and spread very soon all over the Kingdom.

Opra Petrachas on his part, on the news he had received from the second Ambassador, as soon as he had arrived with me in Bangkok, that I had made difficulties about going up, did not fail to send Monsieur de Metellopolis as he had proposed. But this prelate only served in Bangkok as a victim to the ire of the Siamese, who being extremely irritated at the number of their people who were killed by our men, threw themselves upon him, robbed him of all he had in his boat, took away by force his episcopal cross and ring, put a rope round his neck and threatened to expose him to our guns.

Two or three days after my arrival at Bangkok I have written a letter to the great Mandarin, in which I informed him that all the Frenchmen had learnt the infamies to which those of their nation had been subjected, and of the rumours which were current, that they were to be taken out of the fortress in order to be killed, and that consequently they were not willing to come up, and that they were all resolved to defend their lives to the utmost, if they were brought to that: that what they had done, and what they did now, was only done to defend themselves, and that they were always willing to accept vessels, and to retire in peace if they were allowed to do so. After having received my letter and after the mandarins had informed him of our firm resolution, he tried a last remedy in making my children whom he had put in chains, just as the other officers in Louvo, to write a letter to me. He drafted that letter himself for them, which was as follows: *That there was no chance for their lives, if I would not go up according to my promise, and that he had shown them mercy in having postponed their punishment and in having allowed them to write to me about the danger in which they were*. I answered them: *"that I would willingly give my life to save theirs: but when it was question of the honour of the King and the preservation of his troops, there were no*

interests which had not to be sacrificed for them, that it must be sufficient for their consolation, not to have committed any crimes, and that the King knew how to avenge, when he thought fit, all outrages to which they were subjected.

Petrachas did not wait for this answer before changing his mind. The news which reached him constantly of the manner in which we behaved, made him despair of taking us in by any one of his cunning, and he evidently regretted that he had not arrested me when I was in his hands. He also saw by the works in which we were constantly engaged that it was not easy to take us by open force. He had to fear that if he would attack us, he would lose a great many Siamese, who would be thereby disgusted, and would turn against himself the fury which he had incensed against us. He thought therefore it was less venturesome for him, and that it was easier for him at that time to try to get rid of the Princes: for he had one in his hands, and he had already sent a great mandarin called Opra Polotep, who was devoted to him, with a thousand soldiers, under orders to raise another thousand in the city of Siam under the pretext that they were seditious people. He had already separated several mandarins who were devoted to the Prince who was in that town, in order to send them to Bangkok, and he had under various pretexts caused the chief Mandarins, whom he did not trust, to be arrested. Thus by his acuteness he had become the Master of the City and the Palace of Siam, and had brought the Prince to such a state, that he could not resist him.

He therefore had assembled the principal mandarins who were at Louvo complaining before them about the Princes, of what he said he had heard for certain, that as thanks for the good services he had rendered to them, they had resolved to get rid of him: and asking them about their views. I can well imagine that many of them saw at what he was driving: but his power was too great for any one to venture to take umbrage at it. He took care to entice the Chief persons, in making them hope for new office and dignities: he only put at the head of the troops

and command of the Chief place those whom he believed to be entirely devoted to him. All came therefore to the conclusion, that these princes were ungrateful, and that they had to be punished. He therefore issued at once orders to arrest the one who was at Siam, and to conduct him to Louvo; then he at once sent these two to a certain pagoda near Thlé Poussone, to have them killed by beating them with sandalwood, sown up in a scarlet bag according to the Custom of the Country to get rid of the Princes of the blood.

This is how this clever politician opened for himself without intermission the road to the throne, to which he aspired, although it cannot be denied that he had great luck in being able to execute so many persons, without exciting any trouble in the Kingdom. It cannot likewise be denied, that he acted in a very clever way and as a man of a great mind, in spite of what Sieur Constance said of him in talking to me, "that he was *an animal*, that he was not able to bring anything to a successful conclusion". He had played a very sure game, and in the way he had done it, if he could not have got the Crown without risking too much, he could have been satisfied with the second place in the Kingdom, which he could not have failed to get under the reign of the Princes.

The old King was still alive, when he got rid of them. He died the next day, after which Pitrachas gave the great offices to those who had served him, raised all mandarins whom he had to humour, and even set free all those whom he had made prisoners, in order to gain their good will by acts of clemency, he relieved the people from some of their servitudes and even gave them alms in public, and although he incurred little expense thereby it made him beloved and esteemed: with the result that not the slightest sedition or revolution arrived in the Kingdom of this occasion.

With regard to the Princess, he preferred to keep her to make her his wife, than to treat her in the same way as the Princes. He endeavoured to gain her good

graces; it was believed that he reserved her for his son, but he preferred to take her himself. It is said that this Princess was greatly grieved at the death of him who was or ought to have been her husband, and that in her anger she knew no bounds against the person who was responsible for it, and she regretted that she had acted against the French: but after all she preferred living as a Queen, to dying unfortunately. The public ceremony of the marriage had not taken place at the time of our departure: but there was no doubt that that would happen.

Petrachas has no sooner tried to get rid of the Princess than he thought of means to come to an understanding with us, and to allow us to leave the Kingdom in peace. He resolved for that purpose to send me my children, as a sign of the respect he had for me: he therefore had them brought before him and after first threatening them with death to try their firmness, he said: "that he felt pity for them, and that he moreover knew my straight-forwardness and that I was not capable of breaking my word: that the troops would not obey me owing to a panic: that he gave them their lives, and that he would out of consideration for me and out of friendship for them allow them to return to me." He, however, did not make them any proposition for us.

They got the answer I had written to their letters, on the road, but it was nevertheless delivered to the Great Mandarin. They arrived at Bangkok on the day of St. John bringing great joy to the whole garrison, who believed they had died as well as all other Frenchmen who were in the hands of that nation. I had some troubles in understanding why the Great Mandarin should have acted in that way, but having learnt afterwards the arrest and the death of the Princes, I was inclined to believe that by this generous action he would open a road to make peace with us, and the two mandarins whom we questioned on that point confirmed me in my sentiments.

Since that time, fire ceased gradually from one side and the other. Different propositions for an arrangement

were made. The season, the fire set to the bark, the death of the Princes smoothed the hatred of the Siamese against us, which in the beginning was great and general, and which spread even to the women, who came of their free will to bring and prepare the food for the soldiers and others who worked at the forts, wishing thus to take part in our defeat. Nevertheless since the commencement of that war up to the time of our leaving, which was only five months afterwards, there was not a moment when we did not stand in fear and when we had not to keep the whole garrison armed, in spite of the promises and assurances given to us, and which they retracted when they were so minded. They went so far that they only spoke to us about accommodating matters in order to lead us astray and to surprise us by those means, that we could get no assurance from them. I believe the most cruel thing in the world is to be in a state as we were, to be in the necessity of treating with people in the word of whom we could not believe.

During these long and tedious negotiations, during which I found out the secret to furnish the place with provisions, the two boats manned by the French arrived, and these went with us inside the place. The officers who had been retained prisoners at Louvo were also given up to us: some other Frenchmen who were also at Louvo or at Siam found the secret to join us, and through them we learnt of the bad treatment they had undergone by the Siamese, of the persecution which the Siamese Christians, Peguans and Portuguese, had undergone and which they still underwent in a cruel slavery: that the Seminary of the Bishop of Metellopolis had been entirely pillaged, and that they had demanded or taken by force from the Portuguese camp young Christian girls to use them as concubines: we also learnt from a missionary, who had been arrested and on whom they put a neck collar together with all other Christians of a province called Porselon (Phitsnulok), which is at the extremity of the Kingdom, that ever since the month of January they were on the point of being arrested, and since that time they were threatened with what had happened afterwards: and this shows that Pitrachas had taken

measures to do what he had since executed. We also learnt from a Frenchman, who had been made prisoner at Mergui, that M. de Bruan and the French who were under his command had suffered attacks and that for want of water, and also because of the fort being commanded by a battery which the Siamese had erected, they had retired under the fire of the enemy and had taken possession of a boat of the King of Siam.

Some time afterwards we heard the news of the arrival of a vessel of the King named the *Orillâme*, commanded by M. de l'Estrille, which remained some time in the roadstead. They were greatly troubled at not having received any news from us nor from the officers who had first gone up, and the Siamese, who know how to lie and cheat as no other nation in the world, cleverly sent them up to Siam, without passing our fortress and without telling them anything of what has happened.

If our affairs had not been on the point of being settled these officers and the boat would have run great risk, and the boat could not give us any assistance by the impossibility in which it found itself of coming up the river and of having the slightest communication with us. This shows how badly the place in which we were, was situated, and of how little advantage it was and that sooner or later we should have been obliged to abandon it.

In the meanwhile a new matter turned up, which might have broken off everything. The wife of *Sieur Constance*,⁸ after having been cruelly tortured to make her confess where all goods of her husband were, and after having suffered several other outrages on the part of these miserable "painted arms" to whom she had been confided, as well as on the part of the son of *Pitrachas* who is now called the prince, and who fell violently in love with her, had found means to escape and to proceed to Bangkok: this became known to the Mandarins and afterwards to the King, who declared to us, that no arrangement was possible unless she was surrendered. They feared that being out of the Kingdom, she would take hold of all of the goods

which her husband had acquired there, and they would be thus lost to them. Although I was very much troubled about this matter, which was done without my knowing about it, and which came at a very inopportune time (the Siamese retaining sailors (*sic*), cables, anchors and other things which were absolutely necessary for our leaving and which I had the greatest trouble to bring together), I thought nevertheless that I could not hand her over unless I provided for her safety: I tried even to obtain from the King permission that she might leave the country, but they would not listen to my proposition, and the war might have commenced once more, and been more cruel than ever. The *Sieur Veret*, whom I had sent to Siam to arrange our affairs, had been already arrested, and so were also all missionaries and a Jesuit father who remained. All relations of this widow whom the Siamese had arrested, were threatened with the most cruel punishments so that the Mother wrote to me and urged me to arrange this matter. This I did by a Treaty in which the King of Siam gave his word that he would grant her and her family in all liberty of conscience, that she might marry any one whom she chose, and that she was not to be violated by anyone: and on these conditions I handed her over.

Finally after all our affairs had been broken off and settled again, the Siamese agreed to let us have three vessels, provisions and everything that was necessary to us, and two great mandarins as hostages to conduct us out of the Kingdom: and we agreed not to do any harm to their place, to leave with flying colours, with our arms and baggage: and this we did on All Souls day. It was even then said that the Siamese would certainly attack us in leaving or in going down the river: we were thus constantly on our guard, but they did nothing. They played us a small trick after we had been on the roadstead by retaining some Siamese rowing boats (*Mirous*), in which there were some of our guns, which had sunk in low water near their fort. This made us retain their mandarins, who had to take us back and whom we made responsible for all our baggage.

It is nearly incredible how great were the works they

had been obliged to construct in acting against us. Besides the cavalier which they had erected at night time in spite of our guns, on the west fort, which was in their hands, they had also surrounded us with pallisades at a short distance from our cannon, and had further invested us with nine forts which they had mounted with guns, and which threatened us from behind in the whole place. They had moreover from Bangkok up to the mouth of the river erected several forts to prevent assistance coming from outside; there they had 140 pieces of guns which they had sent from Siam, and they had for that purpose opened a branch of the river, in order not to be compelled to pass before us. They had moreover with greatest trouble obstructed the bar, by which vessels could enter, with five or six rows of large and high trees planted at low tide and which were fixed so strongly that it was not possible to pass them; they had only left a small space through which to pass, which they could easily close with an iron chain, and keeping there always a large number of armed galleys to guard it. Surely one would not have thought that this people would have been able to do all this. It is true that all foreigners who were in the country had assisted them greatly against us. They had English and Portuguese on their boats as commanders and to guard the entrance of the river: Dutch to fire their bombs, and we were blockaded besides by the Siamese army and Peguans, Malays, Chinese and and others, who had each their entrenched forts. In truth it would have been easy to prevent the construction of these forts, if we had had a sufficient quantity of powder, but we would have had only sufficient for eight days, if we had kept up firing day and night, which would have been necessary to prevent them from constructing their forts. And thus they were continually working at that even after my children had been sent back to me, and during the time they made propositions for a compromise; this made me very suspicious of them. I preferred reserving the powder and gaining time, to not being able after a couple of days to repel them if they attacked us and it has been shown afterwards, that we could not do

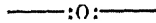
anything else in the circumstances in which we were. It is in truth very doubtful and very uncertain whether their propositions were sincere, but it was more certain that it meant losing everything if we did not listen to their propositions: and thus I often said to the head officer that we would always be in time to strike the last stroke of despair, but that perhaps time might bring that which we could not hope to gain by all the efforts we would make. I also informed our enemies by letter which I wrote to them that if they did not act in good faith, and would not grant my demands, I would commence by exploding their forts, would burst all their guns at my disposal, that I would rush with my whole garrison at them, asking them in such a case as only grace not to give quarter to any Frenchmen as I would promise not to grant quarter to any of them who should fall into my hands. But I believed that it would only come to this last as a extremity and when there was no hope of a better compromise. Afterwards it has been clear that even if one does not see a remedy to get out of a bad affair, one must never despair, that one must rather trust that time may bring about some change. He who came after the death of the Princes commenced to put our affair in a better state; the state of mind in which we were and of which we informed them, and of which the Sieur de Crick had given them proofs, went far to intimidate them. But I must confess in finishing this report that the fear of the vengeance of our August Monarch whose power the Siamese Ambassador had witnessed contributed more than anything else to the advantageous conditions which they were compelled to grant to us.



THE MASSACRE IN SIAM,



AFTER THE DEATH OF THE KING AND THE VIGOROUS
RESISTANCE OF THE FRENCH IN THE FORTRESSES
OF THE KINGDOM.



Written by an Officer of the French troops who served in
these fortresses to one of his friends.

Sir, When I left you to go to this Kingdom of Siam, I regarded as a command, which I had to fulfil to the best of my capacity, the request which you addressed to me to inform you of the progress of Christianity in this distant place. What I have related to you in my previous letters seems to have fully satisfied you, because you admit in all letters with which you have honoured me, that you did not believe that these rude people should have been enlightened in such a short time in the mysteries and truth of our Religion. I blamed you for your misbelief and attempted to persuade you to reflect a little on the conduct of our August Monarch for such a great work when you would have agreed with me that all these projects being established for the advancement of the Religion, Heaven would surely grant all necessary assistance to succeed in this enterprise. Indeed everything had been so well done, that it seemed as if the Catholic Religion in Siam would be that which at all times had governed the people of this vast Kingdom. But God, who never better manifests His glory than in making such things which appear to us impossible succeed, willed it that the enemies of Religion should foment new troubles in this country in order that our King might recommence his work at a time when he was fully occupied with the same enemies of the Religion of his state. Here is in substance how things happened.

The Dutch who are the nation who do the greatest amount of trade in Siam, seeing that the zeal of our great King was chiefly directed to establishing the faith of Jesus Christ there, and that indeed the Revd. Jesuit fathers

whom His Majesty had sent for the instruction of these idolatrous people converted every day a great number of them in making them make solemn and public abjurations, and who by this good example led one to believe that the King of Siam would lead after himself all his subjects to our creed, did not fail from the very beginning to employ all means to prevent the great progress. As during the lifetime of the King, who was clear sighted, they could not succeed in their intentions, they took advantage of the time during which the King could no longer act, and death was on the point of depriving him of life.

His Siamese Majesty having fallen dangerously ill in May 1688, one Opra Petracha a man of great merit amongst the Siamese mandarins, pushed by the Dutch to aspire to the Crown of his King, took measures to execute his intentions, which was not difficult for him. As he had refused the highest charges of the state, with which the King wanted to honour him on several occasions, with a view of simply applying himself to Religion, taking upon himself the duties of a true priest, he approached first the most distinguished amongst them, who seeing that the chief reason for this pernicious design consisted in a true zeal for the Siamese Religion assisted him at once so that he should be raised to the throne. Their blindness went so far that having had assembled a great many people to whom they communicated the resolutions which they had taken regarding the nomination of their new King, they allowed the people to go to all parts of the town proclaiming openly that Opra Petracha was the most worthy of all nobles of Siam to become their king, not taking into consideration that their party had not yet been formed and that such attempt might lead to the abortion of their designs. What induced the people to declare themselves so openly was that the majority of them had received great help from this Opra in gifts which he constantly bestowed on them. His son whom he had raised to the first dignity of the Kingdom next after the Princes of the blood, which is what they call Oya, seeing the necessity there was to do everything in the interest of his father amongst the friends and the

grandees of the Kingdom, wrote to the one and went to visit the others in secret. He showed them all the contempt in which the King held their religion, and addressing all those of whom he knew that they had been badly treated by M. Constance, he made them see how dangerous it would be if the true successor to the Crown should be elevated to the Throne, because M. Constance would become only more powerful.

All these measures having been taken, and the illness of the King getting worse, so that there was no doubt about his death, this Opra at the head of 15,000 men whom his own devices and those of his son had attracted within a short time, occupied all entrances to the palace of the King, in which the nobles were kept. He kept them besieged for several days under the pretext that according to custom, while the King was on the point of dying, it was necessary to secure the principal mandarins, so that they could not act against the true successor.

M. Constance, knowing perfectly well the secret ambition of this Opra, neglected nothing to be in a position to scatter these rebels by force and to arrest this chief of the rebels. For that purpose he assembled all Catholics and sent an express to M. des Farges, Governor of Bangkok, commanding him to come at once to his assistance with the troops of his garrison: but M. des Farges, seeing well from the rumours he heard of a general rebellion, that he would only expose the few people he had without being able to dispel this uprising, and that the Christians had no Asylum to which to escape in case of prosecution, resolved to keep the place and sent a messenger to M. Constance asking him to take refuge himself with his family and all Catholics in Bangkok, as he believed the evil was too great. Indeed the messenger had not yet arrived in Siam, when the Usurper believed he was strong enough and, seeing that M. Constance had not sufficient forces to resist him, he lost no time and openly declared himself Sovereign. He himself had already arrested the adopted son of the King, whom he had cut into pieces with a cruelty without

example. M. Constance had been arrested at the same time with arms in his hands accompanied by several Christians fighting for the faith of Jesus Christ, and, having witnessed this spectacle, suffered the same torment as the prince.

This tyrant, whose first success increased his fury, had the brothers of the King put in velvet bags and had them knocked down with wooden clubs. He then had the house of M. Constance pillaged, where his children and all his servants were arrested and made prisoners. Madame Constance, several times urged by the son of this Usurper who was in love with her to enter amongst the number of his wives with a promise to have always for her the greatest consideration, replied that his offer would never shake her. Finally this cruel man seeing that he could do nothing with her made her the last of his slaves, and made her suffer the most cruel torments. He had her arms broken and had her thrown with her children in a building where the elephants were lodged, from which a French Officer rescued them and conducted them to Bangkok.

The populace went to the Seminary and to the Jesuit Fathers, where after having robbed them all of what they were possessed, they seized them and, treating them with great cruelty, prevented that anything should be given for their maintenance.

The King, who knew of these events and who was shut up in the palace in the hands of his enemies, asked for money from this tyrant and, after having received it, distributed 50 écus of it to each Jesuit. Then, more afflicted by seeing the French Catholics ill treated than by the illness from which he was suffering this Monarch died. The usurper had himself at once proclaimed King and, after the promise he had made for the establishment of liberty and of the Siamese Religion, he only thought of expelling the French from the country together with those who appeared in favour of the late King and of M. Constance.

We retired to the fortress of Bangkok, and we were then besieged by all nations who were living in the states of the new King. The fortress was soon surrounded by eight small forts, which the besiegers built at the distance of a cannon shot, and these all were furnished with guns and bombs which they could only have received from the Dutch and which much incommoded us, as we feared that our magazines which were all of wood should be set on fire; but we nevertheless demolished all their works with cannon shots. The vexation they had in seeing this work ruined in such a short time made them take the resolution to put at the head of their works the Bishop and the other French whom they had made prisoners in Siam, so that if we should fire those of our nation would be killed first.

Although their astuteness was successful as we did not shoot so often since we had to take good aim, and although our fortress was open on the land side we were able to resist five months and four days; after which time when we were running short of all sorts of ammunition, we were granted through the help of the Bishop a capitulation according to which the Siamese furnished us with everything necessary for our maintenance and for the transport of our baggage up to the mouth of the river where the *Oriflame* one of the King's vessels, of 50 guns, had arrived. Hostages were sent on board and after having burst part of the cannons and spiked the others we left Bangkok.

Mergui was besieged by the same nations and M. Bruan, who commanded this place, having with him only thirty men, defended himself vigorously during some time, but a cannon ball having smashed his last jar of water he took the resolution to leave the fort with his people sword in hand. He executed his design with a surprising intrepidity and having broken through the enemies he compelled the rest to run away. He arrived at the sea shore, where he found two feluccas, on which he embarked and went to Pondichéri with 20 men and some Jesuits in a pitiable state. M. des Farges arrived there some time afterwards.

with his troops and sent M. Beauchamp to France on the vessel *la Normande* to give an account to his Majesty of this sad revolution, with orders to pass by the Cape of good Hope to give notice to the French vessels not to go to Siam.

NOTES.

1. According to the Phongsavadan King Narayana had on his accession three brothers, Phra Indraraja, Phra Traibhuvanarthadityawongse and Prince Tong.

Phra Indraraja and Phra Traibhuvanart were executed for conspiracy at the commencement of the reign. Prince Tong is not mentioned further in the annals.

2. Hehad one son Chao Fa Abhaidos, who was to succeed to the throne.

At the time of the death of King Narayana he was summoned to Lopburi; obeying this summons he arrived soon after the death of the King. He was then arrested by order of Hluang Sarasakdi, who held the position of Mahaparak, and was killed with sandalwood clubs at the temple of Wat Sak.

3. Phaulkon is described in the annals as a French merchant, who came with his ship to Ayuddhya. He gained the favour of the King first by teaching the getting out of the dock of a ship. By the reports he made about France, it is said that he induced the King to send an Embassy to France.

All episodes concerning him as related in the Phongsavadan must be considered in the light of fables. The Phongsavadan agrees however with foreign writers in as much as they make him responsible for the fortifications of Dhanaburi (Bangkok) and Phitsnulok. He also

advised about buildings which were erected at Lophburi. It is related that he surrounded the house which he built with brick walls and this was taken as a proof that he aspired to the Crown. He was held in his office by the King in spite of the opposition of the Chief Nobles.

About his death several versions exist. The Phong-savadan record that before the death of the King, he was summoned to the Palace by Phra Phetrāja through his friend Phya Surasongkham. Much against his will he entered his sedan chair. When he arrived at the Palace gates he was assaulted and killed with clubs by the Palace guards under Hluang Sarasakdi.

In the second version given in the "Kham Hai Kan Khun Hluang Ha Vat" the evidence of the King of Siam otherwise known as Somdet Phra Paramarajadhiraj the 4th (1758) before the King of Burma (Alongpra), a work which is in its present form does not deserve much credence, it is related that Chao Phya Vijayen made a secret passage from his house leading to the Royal Palace, in which he had inserted gunpowder with a view to blow up the palace. This became known to Chao Phya Rajawangsan and Phya Sien Kham, who informed the King of it. Phya Sien Kham was ordered to summon Chao Phya Vijayen to the palace. Phya Sien Kham, who was of Malay descent, entered the house of Chao Phya Vijayen armed with a sword and invited him to a conversation and summoned him to the palace by order of the King. As he would not obey the summons he drew his sword and killed Chao Phya Vijayen on the spot.

Cpr. Bowring: Siam Vol. 11. 346.

In the full and true Relation of the great and wonderful Revolution, that happened in the Kingdom of Siam it is said that (Opra Petracha) "summoned Monsieur Constance and severely reproached him, charging him with treachery and perfiduousness against the King and Government of Siam and then caused him to be put to the ordinary and

extraordinary torture, to force him to discover and declare who were his accomplices in the management of the intrigue for making the King a Christian and subjecting the Kingdom to the French Power, and when he had continued him several hours in the torture, he ordered the King's adopted Son to be brought to the palace and caused his head to be cut off immediately and a string to be run through it, and then to be hung about Monsieur Constance his neck in the manner of European cravate.

"This tragedy was acted on the 28th of May, the following 29th and 30th, Monsieur Constance was again applied to the torture in the cruellest manner that could be devised having the young prince's head always hanging on his breast night and day. Thus they continued to torment him till the 4th of June till he expired under the violence of the torture."

In the history of Constance by Le Père d'Orléans it is said that he was executed on the 5th June, 1688 at the Thlee Poussonne.

With the exception of Faulcon none of the French who took part in the Revolution are mentioned in the Phongsavadan, naturally so as the Phongsavadan is what its name Vararāja Vamsāvatāra implies chronicles of the Royal Race.

Reference to the Frenchmen implicated can be found in Lanier, *Etude Historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam de 1662-1703* (Extrait des *Memoirés de la Société des Sciences Morales et des Arts de Seine et Oise*, tome XIII, Année 1883; further in John Anderson, M. D., *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (Trübner's Oriental Series, London 1890).

4. The daughter of King Narayana held the title of Krom Hluang Yodhadeb. She was raised on the accession of Phra Phetrāja to the rank of Queen to the left.

Phra Pié (Pīya) was the son of Khun Traisiddhi Sak, an inhabitant of Ban Kēng. He was brought up in the Royal

Palace in the same way as a Royal Prince. He was of a dwarfish appearance, and had the nick name of dwarf. He was in constant attendance on the King during the last illness. He was killed by being pushed down from the palace wall by order of Hluang Sarasakdi by one Khun Phitak Raksa, a Palace Guard.

5. Opra Petracha (*i. e.* Phra Phetraja) (Debraja). He was at the head of the Elephant Department, a resident of Ban Phlu Hluang in the district of Suphanburi. He was very skilled and was entirely in the confidence of the King, whom he accompanied on all his warlike expeditions and during the illness of the King was appointed Regent.

His son Nai Dúa (Hluang Sarasakdi). The annals relate that he was the son of King Narayana with a Laosian captive, daughter of the Prince of Chiangmai. His mother was given in marriage to Phra Phetraja. Many stories of his valour and cleverness are related of him in the annals, also that the King recognised him as his son. Both were enemies of Phaulkon. He was during the illness of the King appointed Maha-Uparaj.

6. Thlée Pousonne = Thale Chubson, a lake in the neighbourhood of Lophburi, with pleasure house.

Louvo = Lavo = Lophburi. (*See* Giblin: Lophburi past and present; vol. v. iii).

7. Ambassadors in France. The chief Ambassador sent was Nai Pān, who after his return from France, on the decease of his elder brother Lek, was made Minister for foreign affairs. (Phya Kosa). In the reign of Phra Phetraja he was, according to Kaempfer, Minister for foreign affairs and High Chancellor. About the Embassy to France Bowring, vol. ii. 445, may be compared. King Mongkut, writing to Sir John Bowring, asks him to procure a book relating to the visit of the Siamese Embassy to France, in return of the French one to Siam, of which it is said *one of our ancestors has been head*.

"There is a statement written here of that Embassy on its return from France. All these statements an unsatisfac-

tory, difficult to believe and much exaggerated. They are opposed to geographical knowledge, and it would appear that at that time no one could have thought that any Siamese would have seen France again."

For the French account of the Siamese Embassy see this Journal, ii. 63.

8. A great deal of romancing is connected with the story of the wife of Faulcon. She is of course not mentioned in the Phongsavadan. Turpin, quoting from Tachard and Père d'Orléans, makes her a somewhat melodramatic heroine. Père d'Orléans describes her as Japanese, "celebrated by the nobility of her family and still more by the pure blood of the martyrs from which she had the honour to be descended, and whose virtues she knew so well to imitate." Deslandes, quoted by Lanier, gives her name as Doña Guyomar de Piña, of Portuguese origin. That she later on was employed in the King's kitchen under Phra Phetrāja we have no reason to doubt.

Kaempfer gives a tale differing somewhat from that of the French writers just quoted. He says, recording the death of Faulcon, "He was first carried to his home which he found rifled, his wife lay prisoner in the stable who far from taking leave of him spit in his face and would not so much as suffer him to kiss his only remaining son of four years of age, another son being lately dead and still unburied."



REPORT FOR 1908.

Submitted at Annual General Meeting on 2nd February, 1909.

The Siam Society now enters on the sixth year of its existence. The membership stands at 111 ordinary members. Ten new ordinary members have been elected, and six old members have been lost through death, departure or resignation during the course of the year. The Council elected in 1907 have continued their duties with the exception of Mr. Belhomme, who was absent from Bangkok on leave.

As to the Society's publications for the year under review, members have received Vol. IV, parts 2 and 3 and Vol. V parts 1, 2, 3, of the Journal, and it may be mentioned that other papers are still in the press.

Great interest in the Society is still manifested by the papers promised for 1909, and the Council once more begs to state that observations and notes which may throw light on obscure points, would be very welcome as contributions to the Journal, as distinct from longer papers on special subjects. During the past year the Society has still continued to receive and exchange publications with other societies and has by this time acquired a fair library.

The Council begs to tender its best thanks to the Engineering Society of Siam for kindness shewn in the past and to the Committee of the United Club for similar good offices in the present in allowing the Siam Society the use of their premises for meetings of the Siam Society.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT,

Hon. Secretary.

Cr. ACCOUNTS OF THE SIAM SOCIETY FOR 1908.

Dr.

	Tcs.	cts.		Tcs.	cts.
By Balance from 1907 ...	1,458	52	To Stationery, Stamps, etc. ...	60	—
" Sale of Journal ...	339	45	" Printing ...	2,231	39
" Subscriptions ...	1,580	—	" Rent ...	20	—
" Interest ...	16	17	Balance on 31st December, 1908	1,082	75
	3,394	14		3,394	14

RONALD W. GIBLIN,

Hon. Treasurer.

Bangkok, 20th January, 1909.

SIAM SOCIETY.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

SOCIETY.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Bangkok United Club on the evening of Tuesday the 2nd February, 1909.

Dr. O. Frankfurter (President) was in the chair.

The Report and Balance Sheet for 1908 were first brought before the Meeting. Mr. J. Homan van der Heide proposed, and Mr. Th. Collmann seconded, that the Report be accepted. Agreed.

Mr. van der Heide next proposed, and Mr. C. Sandreczki seconded, that the Balance Sheet for 1908 be accepted. Agreed.

The next business was the election of officers and other members of Council for the ensuing year.

Mr. E. Bock proposed, and Mr. Collmann seconded, that the old Council be re-elected. Agreed.

A vote of thanks to the President concluded the Meeting.

METEOROLOGICAL AVERAGES

FOR 1908.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Mean temperature in shade during month	78.6	81.3	84	87.8	85.3	84.4	84.3	83.4	83.2	82.6	78	78.23
Mean of Maxima in shade during month	93.6	91.2	95.8	96	94.3	93.3	93.7	89.9	91.1	91.6	86.2	88.3
Mean of minima in shade during month	65.7	71.	71.8	77	76.1	75.3	75	75.3	76.1	75.6	70.6	69.3
Highest temperature in shade during month	98	102	101	101	99	98	101	97	96	96	95	93
Lowest temperature in shade during month	60	61	62	74	74	72	71	74	71	74	64	61
Greatest daily range in shade during month	24	41	37	26	23	22	25	22	24	21	22	25
Least daily range in shade during month	17	11	14	10	6	14	12	6	6	10	8	11
Mean daily range in shade during month	27.9	24	19.7	18.7	18.5	18.3	18.3	16.1	16	15.1	16.2	19
Number of days on which rain fell ...	1	3	1	9	22	20	18	22	28	30	10	4
Rainfall in inches for the month ...	0.25	0.9	0.06	2.07	9.47	7.32	8.66	10.34	16.6	11.2	4.16	0.33
Total Rainfall from last Jan. to 1st Dec. ...												71.86

Mean temperature during the year, 82.58.

H. CAMPBELL HIGHET,

Medical Officer of Health

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

SIAM SOCIETY.



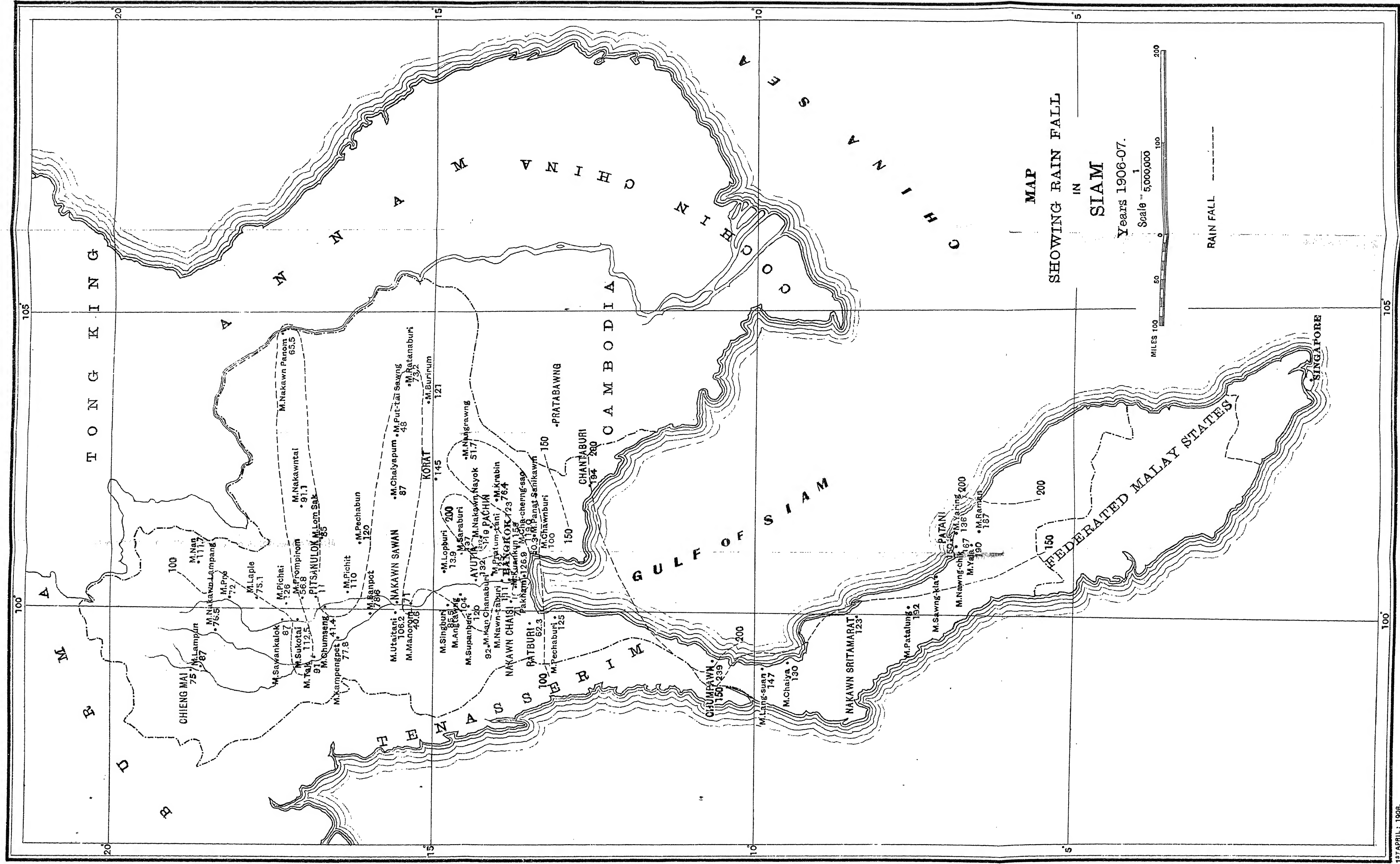
Nai Thian
C. Allegri
J. Antonio
E. Ambrose
H. C. Andersen
W. R. D. Beckett
R. Belhomme
E. Bock
F. Bopp
J. Stewart Black
H. Bauer
E. Brande
Th. Collmann
A. C. Carter
Miss Cole
B. O. Cartwright
L. Diemer-Hansen
F. Didier
Rev. J. B. Dunlap
Dr. E. P. Dunlap
J. C. Dumbleton
Dr. Frankfurter
E. Florio
C. B. Follet
A. Frege
P. Freye
F. Grählert
W. A. Graham
Dr. Highet
J. Homan van der Heide
Dr. Hays

H. Hooker
A. J. Irwin
Hamilton King
G. Kluzer
B. T. Knight
E. St. J. Lawson
L. T. Leonowens
F. H. Lotz
W. F. Lloyd
Dr. Masao
Dr. G. B. McFarland
W. H. Mundie
L. R. de la Mahotière
E. C. Monod
Dr. Morrison, Peking
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